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Sandwich
Islands

THE HISTORY OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS

BY JAMES COOK

WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLANDS, AND A HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY OF THEM.

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Mr. Everett

Original

AN
EXAMINATION OF THE CHARGES
AGAINST THE
AMERICAN MISSIONARIES
AT THE
SANDWICH ISLANDS.

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AN
EXAMINATION OF CHARGES
AGAINST THE
AMERICAN MISSIONARIES
AT THE
SANDWICH ISLANDS,
AS
ALLEGED IN THE VOYAGE OF THE SHIP BLONDE,
AND IN THE
LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.



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1827.

Mr. Everett, Esq. Aug. 7, 1828

1828

This discussion was originally printed in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, No. LVIII, for January 1828, Art. III. p. 59. In this impression a few additional passages have been inserted, for the purpose of treating some topics more fully than the limits of an article in the Review would admit.

THE

AMERICAN MISSIONARIES VINDICATED ;

IN A REVIEW OF

1. *Voyage of His Majesty's Ship Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, in the Years 1824-5. Captain the Right Hon. Lord Byron, Commander.* London. 1826. 4to. pp. x. and 260.
2. *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii.* By WILLIAM ELLIS, Missionary, from the Society and Sandwich Islands. Third Edition. London. 8vo. pp. 480.
3. *Review of the preceding works in the London Quarterly Review, No. LXX.* pp. 419—445.
4. *The Rev. C. S. Stewart's Letters on the Sandwich Islands,* as published in the Boston Daily Advertiser.

THE attentive reader of voyages and travels must have observed a very great diversity in works of this kind. Some, though relating to unpromising fields, contain much to excite attention and reward a careful perusal ; while others, in which interesting countries are described by eye-witnesses, exhibit nothing but tedious specimens of barrenness and stupidity. Among the travellers of the present day are men, who have displayed high qualities of the mind and the heart. Laborious, discriminating, patient, cautious, and possessing a most amiable candor, they have evinced not only a scrupulous regard to truth, but a conscientious fear of doing injustice to individuals, or communities, by hasty and unauthorized representations. A far greater number, however, have written with little knowledge, and less consideration ; and have sent their crude spec-

ulations and random assertions into the world, without the slightest sense of responsibility. Matter is furnished for the pages of the splendid quarto, with as little deliberation, as is observable in the preparations of the most careless editor of a daily newspaper; and charges, deeply affecting the character of large classes of men, are made with as little ceremony, as by the vehement bar-room politician, against a party to which he is opposed. It is expected, in the mean time, that the splendid quarto will be praised in the popular reviews; and, if it flatters national prejudices, or ministers to national vanity, this expectation is pretty sure to be realized. Thus rash calumnies are propagated, to an indefinite and most injurious extent. Erroneous impressions are made upon the minds of multitudes in all parts of the civilized world; and not a few individuals, who would otherwise have been impartial, form and cherish antipathies which will never be eradicated.

It is obvious, from this view of the subject, that all who wish to obtain correct information, to discriminate between undoubted facts and heedless conjectures, and to avoid becoming the dupes of the shallowest impositions, should first ascertain the character of the traveller, and the means of information which he possessed, and should thus fix his claims to credibility. This may often, but not always, be done by looking at the internal evidences only. In the cases before us, there are other means of judging.

The narrative of Mr Ellis was reviewed in our work.* It was published in this country and in England, contemporaneously; and the third edition issued from the London press, in a little more than a year from the appearance of the first. The second and third editions were successively enlarged by the introduction of much new matter. A portion of these additions relates to the government and usages of the islands; and, as the information respecting this topic is more authentic and more particular, than any which has heretofore appeared, we make the following extracts.

‘The government of the Sandwich Islands is an absolute monarchy. The supreme authority is hereditary. The rank of the principal and inferior chiefs, the offices of the priests, and other situations of honor, influence, and emolument, descend from father to son, and often continue through many generations in the

* No. LI, pp. 334—364.

same family, though the power of nomination to every situation of dignity and trust is vested in the king ; and persons by merit, or royal favor, frequently rise from comparatively humble rank to the highest station in the islands, as in the instance of Karaimoku, sometimes called by foreigners, William Pitt. This individual, from being a chief of the third or fourth rank, has long been prime minister, in rank second only to the king, and having, in fact, the actual government of the whole of the Sandwich Islands.

‘Hereditary rank and authority are not confined to the male sex, but are inherited also by the females ; and, according to tradition, several of the islands have been once or twice under the government of a queen.

‘Four distinct classes or ranks in society appear to exist among them. The highest rank includes the king, queens, and all the branches of the reigning family. It also includes the chief counsellor or minister of the king, who, though inferior by birth, is by office and authority superior to the queens and other members of the royal family.’ pp. 420, 421.

The second rank includes the governors of the different islands ; the third, the head men of districts or villages ; and the fourth, very small landholders, and all the common people.

‘Every island is given by the king to some high chief, who is supreme governor in it, but is subject to the king, whose orders he is obliged to see executed, and to whom he pays a regular rent or tax, according to the size of the island, or the advantages it may possess. Each island is separated into a number of permanent divisions, sometimes fifty or sixty miles in extent. In Hawaii there are six, Kohala, Kona, &c. Each of the large divisions is governed by one or two chiefs, appointed by the king or by the governor, and approved by the former. These large divisions are divided into districts and villages, which sometimes extend five or six miles along the coast ; at others, not more than half a mile. A head man, nominated by the governor, usually presides over these villages, which are again subdivided into a number of small farms or plantations. The names of these are generally significant ; as *Towahai*, the waters broken, from a stream which runs through the district, and is divided near the sea ; *Kairua*, two seas, from the waters of the bay being separated by a point of land, &c.

‘Although this is the usual manner in which the land is distributed, yet the king holds personally a number of districts in most of the islands, and several of the principal chiefs receive districts directly from the king, and independent of the governor of the island in which they are situated.’ pp. 423, 424.

The governor collects and pays over taxes for the king. He also makes exactions on his own account. The smaller chiefs demand rents and services from their inferiors; so that, by all this process, the poor laborer is kept in a state of abject poverty.

‘The common people are generally considered as attached to the soil, and are transferred with the land from one chief to another. In recently conquered districts, they were formerly obliged to abide on the land which they cultivated, as slaves to the victors; at present, though they frequently remain through life the dependants or tenants of the same chief, such continuance appears on their part to be voluntary. No chief can demand any service or supplies from those who occupy the land of another without his direction.

‘The king occasionally changes the tenants of a farm, without taking the proprietorship from the chief who may hold it more immediately from himself; and when the rents are insufficient to meet his wants, if any of the neighboring farmers have potatoes and taro in their fields, he, or any high chief, will send their men, and *hao* (seize) the greater part of them, without making any remuneration to the injured parties.’ pp. 426, 427.

‘Until the establishment of a Christian mission among them, the Sandwich Islanders had no records, and consequently no written laws. There is, however, a kind of traditionary code, a number of regulations which have been either promulgated by former kings, or followed by general consent, respecting the tenure of lands, right of property, personal security, and exchange or barter, which are well understood, and usually acted upon. The portion of personal labor due from a tenant to his chief is fixed by custom, and a chief would be justified in banishing the person who should refuse it when required; on the other hand, were a chief to banish a man who had rendered it, and paid the stipulated rent, his conduct would be contrary to their opinions of right, and if the man complained to the governor or the king, and no other charge was brought against him, he would most likely be reinstated. The irrigation of their plantations is of great importance in most parts, and there is a law that the water shall be conducted over every plantation twice a week in general, and once a week during the dry season.

‘On the death of a chief, his lands revert to the king or the governor of the island. He may nominate his son, his wife, or any other person, to succeed to his districts, &c. but the appointment must be confirmed by the king or governor, before the individual can take possession.

‘ This regulation, next to the tabu, is the most effectual mode of preserving the authority and influence of the king and chiefs.’
pp. 428, 429.

‘ The Hawaiian system of government—whether derived from the country whence the first settlers emigrated, or established by warlike chieftains in a subsequent period of their history, as an expedient to secure conquests, to command the services of their tenants on occasions of war, and to perpetuate the influence which military prowess or success in the first instance had given them, exhibits, in its decided monarchical character, the hereditary descent of rank and office, and other distinguishing features, considerable advancement from a state of barbarism, and warrants the conclusion that they have been an organized community for many generations. But whatever antiquity their system may possess, they have made but little progress in the art of good government. The well-being of the subject seems to have been but rarely regarded by the rulers, who appear to have considered the lower orders in general as a kind of property, to be employed only in promoting the interests of their superiors ; and the ardent love of wealth, which an acquaintance with the productions of foreign countries has excited in most of the chiefs, has not improved the condition of the people. Industry receives no encouragement ; and even those whom natural energy of character would induce to cultivate a larger portion of land than was absolutely necessary for their bare subsistence, are deterred from the attempt by the apprehension of thereby exposing themselves to the rapacity of avaricious or necessitous chiefs. Nothing can be more detrimental to the true interest of the chiefs, and the civilization and happiness of the people, than the abject dependence of the latter, the uncertain tenure of lands, the insecurity of personal property, the exactions of the chiefs, and the restrictions on trade with the shipping, which they impose. As the nation in general becomes enlightened, it is to be presumed that the policy of the rulers will be more liberal, and the general prosperity of the islands proportionably advanced.’ pp. 433, 434.

It is manifest, that so far as the principles of christianity are received and obeyed, the government of the islands will assume a more mild and equitable character.

In the last chapter but one of Mr Ellis’s book, and in the Appendix, are numerous facts respecting the language of the Polynesians, and the question of their supposed origin, to which we may advert, in a subsequent part of this article. All the discussions, on these and other subjects, are conducted by Mr Ellis with becoming caution and modesty. His work abounds

in matter of deep interest, and sustains a truly respectable rank among books of this class.

What degree of credit is due to the voyage of the Blonde, our readers will have some means of judging, when they learn in what manner the book was made up, and how difficult it is to find a responsible author.

A frigate had been sent by the British government, on a voyage of kindness to a remote tribe of uncivilized men, under the command of a nobleman, who had just succeeded to the title of his relative, the most distinguished poet of the age. Under these circumstances, the return of the ship naturally presented to the eager and wakeful mind of a London bookseller, the inquiry, whether a profitable use could not be made of almost anything, which should commend itself to the nobility and gentry of Great Britain, as a voyage under the auspices of Lord Byron, whose grandfather had signalized himself in the Pacific, and whose immediate predecessor in the title, endowed with a genius, which cast all titles into the shade, had recently fallen in the cause of Grecian liberty. Application was therefore made to Mr Bloxam, the chaplain of the Blonde, for such materials as he might be able to furnish. This gentleman kept a journal, but with what regularity, or with what pretensions to accuracy, does not appear. One of the American missionaries saw many parts of this journal, at the time when it was composed ; but of these parts, very few are to be found in the volume before us. The papers of Mr Bloxam, however, such as they were, or at least some of them, were put into the hands of the publisher. The writer could not, or would not, prepare them for the press. He left England in haste, to enter upon the duties of a foreign chaplaincy. We do not believe that Mr Bloxam had unfriendly feelings towards the American missionaries ; or that he would have spoken of them otherwise than in terms of respect. Just as he was about sailing from Portsmouth, he heard of Mr Stewart's arrival in London, from the Sandwich Islands, and immediately sent a friendly note to him, regretting that imperious circumstances would prevent the renewal of their former agreeable intercourse. The ordinary rules of politeness did not require this attention ; and there is no reason to think it would have been shown, if Mr Bloxam had cherished the spirit, which is often apparent in the ' Voyage,' and in the ' Review,' which it called forth.

We have arrived at the first stage in the production of a book of travels. Scraps of a journal are deposited in the hands of a bookseller. These scraps, however, not being judged suitable for the eye of the public, either because they contained too little or too much ; because they wanted connexion or consistency, or would reflect credit on men whom it was not thought expedient to praise ; for some of these reasons, or all of them united, were delivered to a Mrs Graham, a sort of literary *redacteur*, or intellectual mechanic, whose ready services must be of special importance to the trade. In this way, with a few hasty notes for the elements of the composition, travels can be written in London, and suited to every meridian and climate in the world.

In the case before us, however, Mrs Graham was not satisfied with the notes of Mr Bloxam. That it would have drawn too heavily upon her powers of invention, if she had undertaken to fill up all the chasms in the voyage, we dare not assert. She thought it well to apply to some of the junior officers of the Blonde for their journals, which they were so kind as to submit to her inspection. She sought an interview with the American missionary, then in London, who, having heard from her own lips some of the misstatements, which now appear in the work, frankly corrected them ; and told her plainly, that if she relied upon some of the authorities, which she had quoted, she would be egregiously misled ; for without impeaching the character or motives of the midshipmen, whose journals she possessed, it must be perfectly evident, that, as they knew nothing of the native language, and had few opportunities of learning the condition of the people, or the effects of the mission, and as they must derive much of their information through very suspicious channels, it would be altogether unsafe to send reports forth to the world, merely because they might have been entered in the private diaries of these youthful officers.

To the foregoing particulars, in regard to the origin and manufacture of this book, the public have a right ; and it is hoped that they may not be useless as a specimen of the art and mystery of writing travels, especially as taken in connexion with what will appear in the sequel of this article.

On examining the book, it is apparent that very free use is made of Mr Ellis's narrative, which was published only a few months previously. Nearly all the most interesting facts, re-

lating to the traditions of the islanders, and the history of the islands, are taken from this source. Mr Ellis must doubtless consider himself highly honored by such condescension, as the acknowledgment is made in so remarkably courteous a manner, by placing at the bottom of the page, the words ‘*See Ellis ;*’ which token of gratitude and respect meets the eye very frequently, though not so frequently as justice would require. It must, also, be quite comforting to the purchaser of a two guinea book, to see that all the best passages are taken from a contemporaneous work on the same subject, which contains much more than the work he is reading, and on incomparably better authority ; and which can be had for one third of the money.

It is remarkable, too, that fragments which were furnished by the American missionaries, as illustrations of the language of the natives, and of their skill in composition, are inserted without scruple ; and, in return for this politeness to their visitors, the missionaries are treated with contempt and calumny. Acknowledgment is made to Mr Bingham, in the body of the work, for a translation of a native song, which is there copied ; but as it was deemed convenient, in several subsequent passages, to hold up Mr Bingham to reproach and scorn, another native song, of which he gave a copy, both in the original and in a translation of his own, is inserted in the Appendix, without *any acknowledgment whatever*. It doubtless occurred to the delicate mind of Mrs Graham, that it would not be well to make too free with a name, which she had vilified ; and that some of the literary labors of Mr Bingham, in this department, had better stand to the credit of the joint concern of Bloxam and Co., of which concern she was the factor. In like manner, a particular account of the *pule ana-ana*, or death-prayer, which was copied, by permission, from the private journal of Mr Stewart, is published in the Appendix, with the vague acknowledgment, ‘*from the missionaries.*’ In a word, everything which could be obtained from the portfolios of the missionaries, or gleaned from their conversation, to fill out a dull and disjointed narrative, and impart some sort of animation to heavy pages, was greedily seized and thrown into the small collection of heterogeneous materials for a book, the principal design of which appears to have been, as the principal effect will be, to make prejudiced and ill informed readers think contemptuously of Americans, and of the character and labors of the American missionaries.

To fill the volume, it was necessary to give a long account of the visit of Riho-Riho to London, where he died. Many frivolous things are mentioned, and even the tavern bills of the party are commemorated; but it is perfectly evident, that the writer had no means of discovering the real views and feelings of this young king and his followers. On her homeward passage, the Blonde touched at several small islands, and at two or three ports on the western coast of South America. Incidents of this kind serve to give some variety; and we think that, in all these parts, the journals of the midshipmen were used. The last article in the Appendix, is an accurate and officer-like survey of the harbor of Waiakea, or Byron bay, on the eastern coast of Hawaii, by Lieutenant Malden, of the Blonde, with useful notices of other harbors in the Sandwich Islands. This article is of more value, than all the rest of the book, because it may be relied on.

As to the body of the work, if we take away all that Mr Ellis and the American missionaries have been made to contribute; a few tolerable passages, which doubtless were copied from Mr Bloxam's journal; and some gross misrepresentations of facts, on which we propose to animadvert; the remainder will exhibit a specimen of as complete inanity, as can well be imagined. There is one good thing about the book, and that is its brevity. After all the labor to collect matter from so many sources, and to make much out of a little, the whole could be printed, and not very closely, in a duodecimo volume of two hundred pages.

If we are asked, who is responsible for the accuracy of the statements in the work, we are happy to say, that Lord Byron *is not*. It does not appear, that he ever saw a sentence of original composition that it contains, or that he directly or indirectly sanctioned the publication. Some anonymous correspondents appear to have had a hand in it; and among them, and the midshipmen, and Mrs. Graham, and Mr Bloxam, the responsibility must be divided, according to the skill, judgment, and conjectures of the reader.

That Mr Bloxam is not peculiarly, or especially, responsible for any obnoxious statement or passage, which can be pointed out, we think is plain from the following sentence in the preface. 'The editor is conscious, that some things may have been omitted, and some, possibly, mistaken, notwithstanding every endeavor to do justice to the work, owing to

a want of that local knowledge, which Mr Bloxam, as an eye-witness, must have possessed, and with which he would, no doubt, have extended and adorned his narrative, had he fortunately remained to prepare it for publication.' Indeed! '*Some things may have been omitted.*' How omitted? Stricken out of the manuscript of Mr Bloxam? Did not the editor know, that *many things were actually omitted*, in this manner? Or is the meaning, that *some things may be deficient*, which her own imagination could not supply, but which were necessary to explain what was inserted? Again, '*Some things may possibly be mistaken, owing to a want of local knowledge.*' Undoubtedly. The man or the woman, who undertakes to fill up chasms in a book of travels; or to form into one texture shreds and patches, from the journals of different writers, and from hearsay reports, not only *may possibly be mistaken*, but, without a miracle, must *inevitably* fall into error. It is impossible that a work, thus formed, should sustain any character for accuracy.

Mrs Graham calls herself the editor. We should call her the *fabricator*, not using the word here in the odious sense (which would be to prejudge the question), but in a *mechanical sense*, as accurately descriptive of the kind of smithcraft, which she must have used in connecting the detached links placed at her disposal.

We might here stop, and dismiss the book as nearly worthless; and we should do so, if its tendency were not highly pernicious. Nor would even this consideration induce us to proceed, were not the evil greatly magnified, by the currency which is given, through reviews and other channels, to what is pernicious, as well as to what is useful, in works which are constantly issuing from the press. It is to be remembered, also, that the exposure of blunders and perversions in one publication, may supersede the necessity of exposing similar blunders and perversions, should they be repeated; and that some of the greatest benefits of criticism result from its operating by way of example.

The editor (for so we must call her) manifests a commendable zeal to display whatever knowledge is within her reach. In the following instance, she really supposed she had advanced beyond Mr Ellis. 'The Sandwich Islanders,' says she, 'reckon by forties, or, as we may say, double scores; they call forty *teneha*; ten *tenehas* is one *lau*; ten *lau* a *manu*; ten

manu a kini ; ten kini a lehu ; ten lehu a nurwanee ; ten nurwanee one pao.' In a note, it is added, ' Ellis, in his Appendix, says the islanders only count as far as the kini.' It is true that, according to Mr Ellis, the natives count only to five denominations ; that is, to four hundred thousand ; and he had inadvertently transposed the *kini* and *lehu*, putting the *kini* last. The editor would represent the natives as going two denominations further ; that is, to forty millions. Now it would seem somewhat remarkable, that Mr Ellis, after residing two years at the Sandwich Islands, and six years at the Georgian Islands, where a dialect of the same language is spoken, and after conversing and preaching in these dialects, as readily as in English, should not have discovered the extent of the numerals so accurately, as a person who could converse with the natives only by an interpreter, and who probably never even attempted to study the language.

This mystery is explained at once, by a member of the American mission, who has recently returned from the islands. The word *narawali*, improperly written *nurwanee*, means *forgotten, unknown, unthought of* ; and the word *pau*, wrongly written *pao*, means *all, or the whole*. When the native was questioned, either in London, or at the islands, *What do ten lehu make ? or What comes next ?* he doubtless answered, *Narawali* ; by which he meant, *I can go no further, all beyond is unknown*. The unsuspecting Englishman, however, supposed he had got a new denomination ; and, in fresh pursuit of another, inquired *What next ? or, What do ten narawali make ?* To which the native answered, *Pau ; I have said all I can say* ; and this was written down as a regular numerical denomination ; so that, in conclusion, when the Englishman comes to understand his own system of notation, he will find that ten *lehu* make one *unknown*, and ten *unknowns* go for the *whole*. In what manner the Englishman was made to understand, that the native had actually, and absolutely, arrived at the very *ne plus* of his knowledge, we can only guess. Probably it was by some significant gesture.

One favorite design of the editor, is to make it appear that the Sandwich Islands are under the special guardianship of Great Britain. With the political reasons, which relate to this subject, it is not our design to intermeddle. Whether it would be wise, or unwise, for the British or the American cabinet to desire colonies in the Pacific, we leave for others to decide.

There is no doubt, however, that things are now tending toward the occupation of these islands by a foreign power; and this result seems inevitable, unless the natives should become so far civilized, as to institute an efficient police, and cause their rights to be respected.

Not only are the English the chosen and proper guardians of the Sandwich Islands, but even the minutest service ever rendered to the inhabitants by any of his Britannic majesty's subjects, is deemed worthy of special commemoration. Instances of this sort are very numerous; while we think there is not a single instance of a direct acknowledgment of good derived to the islanders from any other quarter. Some of the smaller proofs of British kindness are introduced with a sageness and gravity, which would well become a much more important subject. Thus we are told, after an enumeration of fruits found in the garden of Mr Marin, or Manini (a Spaniard who has resided in Oahu more than twenty years), that 'the melons, though first brought hither by the English, have been fostered by this man, so as now to seem native here.' (p. 118.) One would think that melons might thrive in a tropical climate, without being '*fostered*' by any one; and that it should be no matter of surprise, if they '*seemed native here,*' and did not declare, after ten or twenty reproductions, that they were of English origin.

Though we are so often reminded of the kindness shown to the islanders by the British government and people, there is one passage at least, which indicates that this kindness is not absolutely and purely disinterested.

'Besides, the commercial interests of England, in the Pacific, are likely to be greatly injured in case the Sandwich Islands should fall into the hands of the Russians or Americans, and it was of some importance to grant the protection the king had come to seek, *for our own sake*, as well as for his.' p. 72.

Whatever may be thought of the British government taking the Sandwich Islands under its peculiar guardianship, or whatever this relation may imply, there can be no doubt, we should presume, that the common interest of the commercial world will be promoted, by that elevation of moral and intellectual character, which it is the object of missionary labors to impart. More than a hundred vessels now touch at the principal port in these islands, in a single year. Most of them are large

ships, having a full complement of men and valuable cargoes. As the population of North America increases, and especially when the western coast shall be inhabited by civilized communities, the resort to these islands will be incalculably great. If the natives shall then be orderly, industrious, and virtuous, the intercourse may be reciprocally beneficial. It would seem most likely to give satisfaction to all, if a strict neutrality were observed, and all were permitted to pursue commerce and obtain refreshments, on conforming to impartial and salutary regulations. The subject is one of considerable importance, and deserves the particular attention of the Russian and American governments, as it already has the attention of the British.

The account of the religion of the islanders, which is presented in the 'Voyage,' is totally unsupported by evidence, and directly against the testimony of Mr Ellis and the other missionaries. It is just such an account, as might with equal propriety be inserted in any other book of travels among a heathen people ; and, in almost all cases, it would be directly opposed to facts. But let us look at one of these passages.

'The belief of a Supreme Being, the author of all nature, and the peculiar protector and father of the human race, was the foundation of their creed, in common with that of all the tribes of men, who have begun to think of more than the supply of their physical wants.' p. 10.

'They deified the operations of nature, and placed between man and the Supreme Creator, a race of intermediate and generally benevolent beings, to support and comfort him. *Ibid.*

Now it will appear, on a very slight examination, that the *creed* here mentioned is a mere fiction, without a particle of evidence to sustain it ; though it has been so often repeated, that superficial writers and credulous readers believe it to be a reality. In some few tribes of North American Indians, there seem to have been traces of a belief in an omnipresent and all powerful Deity ; and in these tribes there was no idol-worship. But among other tribes of our continent, there is not the slightest proof, that the conception of God, as a spiritual being, or as a being who takes an interest in human affairs, ever entered the minds of any of the people. And the same is true of almost all the human family, who have not derived their religious faith, either directly or remotely, from revelation. But to return to the Sandwich Islands. The natives had no

idea of a 'Supreme Being, the author of all nature, and the peculiar protector and father of the human race,' nor of a 'race of intermediate and generally benevolent beings to support and comfort man.'

In an account which Mr Ellis gave of the religion of the South Sea Islands (which is literally applicable to the Sandwich Islands, and which is taken from a statement prepared by him with much care while in this country), he says ;

'The only controlling principle in their religion was fear. Their gods were confessedly evil, revengeful, cruel. No amiable trait of character was attributed to them. Consequently, they were never loved. And the system of religion resembled the gods. It possessed no amiable characteristics. It sanctioned every crime, and even required the practice of very many. Its rites were bloody. The king was chief priest. Hence the requisitions of religion were seconded by the civil power. One of the principal requisitions were human sacrifices, which was frequently made.'

The only motives to religious worship, seem to have been a hope of averting the malevolent influence of evil deities, or of directing that malevolence upon enemies, in time of war, or of keeping the common people in a state of servility to the chiefs. The thought of support, or comfort, to be derived from these odious beings, or of moral accountability to a superior power, or of moral principle as applicable to the conduct of either gods or men, much less of a pure, spiritual essence, governing the world and pervading all things,—never entered the mind of a Sandwich Islander, till he derived it from European and American visitors. The ascription of enlarged and sublime thoughts of the Deity to the Polynesian tribes, is as mere a fabrication, as it would be to pretend that they were acquainted with the astronomical discoveries of Newton or Laplace. It is doubtful whether any of their deities were of a higher character, than that of deceased kings and giants. Polyphemus and Enceladus would come up to their standard ; and probably Hercules, certainly Neptune, would greatly transcend it.

One great source of error, with writers on this subject, is, that they almost uniformly assume, that heathen nations are now, or have generally been, *in a rising state*. Thus it is said, in the passage above quoted, that the foundation of the Polynesian creed was held by the natives, 'in common with all the

tribes of men, *who have begun to think of more than the supply of their physical wants.*' It is here taken for granted, that men gradually rise to juster views of the Deity, without the aid of revelation, by the operation of their own minds. We ask for the proof of this doctrine. All Scripture is against it. Much history is against it. The present state of the heathen world is against it. We have yet to learn, that there has been a single instance, upon the face of the earth, of an ignorant and heathen people, making advances in the knowledge of God, unless they derived aid from some extraneous source. If there is such an instance, let it be produced, and let the matter be thoroughly investigated. On the other hand, the instances of deterioration are innumerable. They can be found in every period of authentic history. The Indians of our own continent are very striking examples. It can be proved from their languages alone, that they are descended from a highly cultivated race of men. But they have been sinking lower and lower, till, in regard to any theory of morals and religion, most of the tribes have sunk to the very bottom. Far from employing their minds upon such subjects, they never think of them at all. They are in a state of perfect moral darkness, so that, when asked the plainest questions, they reply without the least concern, *We do not know; our fathers never told us; we never think about it.*

After describing a visit to a place formerly used for idolatrous worship, the editor relates the following story, as having been received from a man on the spot, who was once the officiating priest.

'One morning his father had placed the usual offering of fish and poi before the Nui Akua, or Great Spirit. The son having spent a long day in an unsuccessful fishing expedition, returned, and, tempted by hunger, devoured the food of the gods. But first he placed his hands on the eyes of the idol, and found they saw not; and then his hands into its mouth, but it did not bite; and then he threw his mantle over the image and ate; and, replacing the bowl, removed the mantle and went his way. Being reprovved by his father, he said, "Father, I spoke to him, and he heard not; I put my hand into his mouth, and he felt not; I placed tapa over his eyes, and he saw not; I therefore laughed and ate." "Son," said the old priest, "thou hast done unwisely; 'tis true the wood neither sees nor hears, but the Spirit above observes all our actions.'" p. 201.

Now we utterly discredit this story. It has no verisimilitude. Even the children know, that hideous carved images neither see, nor hear, nor bite. They suppose these images to be *representations*, made according to the skill or caprice of the artist, and designed to present to the eye some memorial of material gods, who go from place to place, in the general form and figure of men, and who occasionally visit the sacred inclosures, where they are worshipped. It was known to all the people, that the food placed before the idols was not consumed by them; and generally, at least, that it was not consumed by the gods, of which these idols were the types; for nothing was more common, than for these offerings of hogs and fruit to remain from day to day, till they became putrid and decayed. Sometimes it was pretended, we believe, and perhaps often, that the gods came in the night, and consumed the food placed before the idols.

As to the *Nui Akua*, a very doubtful phrase (which if there is anything to authorize it, would be spoken *Akua Nui*), we have never heard, that any *great god*, or *god by way of eminence*, was worshipped in Hawaii; much less, that such a god had a distinct idol made for him. And if there were such a god, there is no propriety in translating the phrase into the English words *Great Spirit*;* for the highest conceptions, which the natives had of any deity, fell as far short of even the Jupiter of the classics, as the shapeless images of wood, stone, and feathers, were inferior to the most finished statues of Phidias or Praxiteles. What then can be said of the use of the word *spirit*; the most sublime in its import (with the exception of *Jehovah*), by which Christians are accustomed to designate the God of the Scriptures. The sentiment, with which the extract closes, that 'the Spirit above observes all our actions,' was never of Polynesian origin. It sounded very prettily to the ears of the London writer, and therefore it was written down.

After these specimens of the editor's acquaintance with the religion of the natives, it may be proper to look a little at her historical memoranda.

In giving some account of Lahaina, in Maui, a choice specimen of eloquence and history is introduced, by way of episode.

* For remarks on the manner of translating *Akua*, see our former review of Mr Ellis's book, No. LI, pp. 360, 361.

The occasion was this ; an insurrection broke out at Tauai, in September, 1824, when Karaimoku was on that island. He immediately sent up to the windward for a thousand armed men. A large part of them volunteered at Lahaina. Mrs Graham's account of the matter is as follows ;

‘At Maui the erees [that is, the chiefs] agreed it would be proper to send two hundred men in canoes ; but the chiefs themselves, either dreading a renewal of the bloody scenes which had troubled them in the time of Tamehameha, or moved by the caprice or indolence of half-civilized men, seemed unwilling to join the expedition, when Kaikioeva, an aged chief, came among them, and learning the cause of their meeting, and their backwardness to go to battle, he lifted up his withered hands and said ; “Hear me, ye chiefs ; ye who have warred under the great Tamehameha. Karaimoku and I were born upon the same mountain in this island. We were nourished at the same breast, and our boyish sports were in common, and together we breasted yonder foaming waves. In manhood we fought side by side. When Karaimoku was wounded, I slew the chief whose spear had pierced him ; and though I am now a dried and withered leaf, never be it said that Kaikioeva deserted his friend and brother in arms in time of need. Who is on Karaimoku's side ? Let him launch his war canoe and follow me.” This burst of eloquence, from so approved a warrior, aroused the chiefs. In an hour all the war canoes in and near Lahaina were launched, and bore six hundred men to Tauai, in time to join Karaimoku as he marched to attack the fort of Taumuarii.’ pp. 99, 100.

It is true, that Kaikioeva was at Lahaina, when Karaimoku sent thither for reinforcements ; that he said he would not leave his old friend, or (as Virgil expresses it more exactly) his *æquævum amicum*, unassisted in time of danger ; and that this declaration had some effect in hastening the departure of the people. All the rest is either apocryphal, or positively false. Upon this account, we remark,

First, as there were but few chiefs at Lahaina, and of these Kaikioeva was the highest, it is absurd to suppose that the rest determined what to do without consulting him, and that it was only by accident that he became acquainted with what had been determined on. We believe he was governor of Maui at the time ; and, if so, all the orders must have proceeded from him. ¶

Secondly, there was not a war-canoe at Lahaina, when this celebrated speech was made ; of course none could be launch-

ed. And if the shores had been lined with canoes, not one *would* have been launched ; because the government possessed much better means of transportation. Not only was this the fact, but the editor *knew it to be so* ; for she has recorded it (p. 192) in these words ; ‘The superior advantage of European vessels has, of course, as soon as felt, *superseded the use of the war-canoe.*’ Tamehameha possessed European or American vessels, and profited by them, many years ago ; and the use of the war-canoe had been long superseded ; and yet, for the sake of a flourish, war-canoes are created at Lahaina, in September, 1824, and launched in an hour, in sufficient numbers for the conveyance of six hundred men.

Thirdly, these war-canoes arrived at Tauai, it seems, at the very time when Karaimoku was marching to attack the fort of Taumuarii. Now it so happens, that there is but one fort in Tauai, and of that Karaimoku was in undisturbed possession, when the reinforcements arrived. He had been attacked in this fort, when the insurrection broke out ; but the assailants were repulsed, and they never repeated the attack. He pursued them across the island ; and if they erected any temporary defences, there could have been nothing in their possession worthy of being called *a fort*.

The rhetorical embellishment of the aged chief ‘*lifting up his withered hands,*’ and calling himself a ‘*dried and withered leaf,*’ is amusing enough to those who have been acquainted with him. Mrs Graham, being so intimately conversant with the Sandwich Islands, and their inhabitants, ought to have known, that he is a perfect model of plumpness and rotundity ; that he has a smooth and shining skin ; and that no alderman in the British metropolis appears at a greater remove from anything *withered*, than this same governor Kaikioeva. Thus it is, that rhetoric and history, fiction and fact are jumbled together. Many a speech has been written for a savage hero, which, if it could be repeated to him, would make him stare worse than the approach of an enemy.

We should naturally expect minor inaccuracies ; and candor would lead us to excuse them. It is said, for instance, that Karaimoku *took* the name of William Pitt, and that he was fond of it. We have always understood the fact to be, that the name was *given* him by foreigners, out of compliment ; and that, as they chose to call him by that name, he was merely passive in it. So it is said of Kuakini, governor

of Hawaii, that he 'has adopted the title of John Adams, in compliment to the president of the American congress of that name.' (p. 199.) The same remark will apply here, as in the other case. In one blundering sentence, beside the mistake of Kuakini's *adopting* a name, which was forced upon him by others, we learn that the name *John Adams* is a *title*, as well as a name, and that Mr Adams was *president of the American congress*; two articles of information which were entirely new to us, as we doubt not they will be to our readers.

Now we are on the subject of names, we would correct another mistake, which is quite unaccountable. In the 'Voyage,' we are told, that the young king, who died in England, assumed the name of Tamehameha, immediately after his father's death, and that he was very tenacious of being called by that name. It is true that, in compliance with the advice of a foreigner, he made use of the name for his official signature; but we are assured, by a person who resided at Honoruru for more than six years, that he never heard the king called by that appellation, in a single instance. He was generally called Riho-Riho; sometimes Iolani.

We have seen in what manner the religion of the islands appeared to the editor; let us now attend to her view of the social and moral character of the people.

In the early part of the 'Voyage,' we are cheered with the design of purifying the morals and improving the manners 'of an intelligent, cheerful, and sweet-natured people.' (p. 52.) The Quarterly Reviewer goes further, and says, that 'a more cheerful, inoffensive, hospitable, and kind-hearted people, than the Sandwich Islanders, *do not exist in any society whatever.*' And he refers to Mr Ellis's narrative, in which it appears that, among other enormities, *two thirds of the children perish by the hands of their own parents*; generally, soon after they are born, though sometimes after they are three or four years old. The same Reviewer afterwards quotes from the 'Voyage,' an account of the great council, at which Lord Byron was present, and where 'the heroic Kapiolani then said, that on the lands belonging to herself and her husband, Naihi, she had used every endeavor to establish laws for prohibiting robbery, murder, and, especially, drunkenness, adultery, infanticide; and, on the whole, she had been tolerably successful.' It would seem to us rather singular, that upon the first dawning of

christianity upon so kind-hearted and inoffensive a people, it should be necessary to establish laws against robbery, murder, adultery, and infanticide ; and that when these laws were introduced among a little community of perhaps five thousand souls, all that could be said, should be, that the experiment had been *tolerably successful*. We must think, notwithstanding the assertion of the Reviewer to the contrary, that the people of Scotland, Switzerland, and the United States, and of other countries in which christianity has prevailed, are much more inoffensive and kind-hearted, than the Sandwich Islanders in their original state.

In describing the character of a barbarous and uncivilized people, it is not easy to do exact justice, or to leave precisely the right impression. Mr Marsden always speaks of the New Zealanders, as a noble race of men, and as capable of high improvement ; yet, taking any one of his journals, and perusing the whole of it, there will be little danger of mistaking their character ; which is that of the most cruel, revengeful, treacherous, murderous set of cannibals to be found upon earth. Some of them, and even those who had visited England, persisted in the practice of roasting and eating their prisoners, against the strongest remonstrances of the missionaries residing among them. Indeed, it seemed at one time not improbable, that the missionaries themselves would be murdered, and their bodies used for food, by the very people for whom they were laboring, and whose friendship had been solemnly pledged. These savages, however, or their descendants, it is hoped, may become Christians ; and, under the transforming influence of divine truth, may be raised to a civilized condition.

The Sandwich Islanders are not cannibals ; though the inhabitants of many islands in the Pacific occasionally eat the bodies of their slaughtered enemies. Excepting cannibalism, it is difficult to mention the crime which was not perpetrated in the Sandwich Islands, without compunction and without shame. The last nine verses of the first chapter of Romans contain a far juster account of the character of the people, than can anywhere else be found in the same number of words. They were not, properly speaking, ‘haters of God,’ because they had no knowledge of God, or his attributes ; nor were they remarkable for ‘debate,’ unless when intoxicated ; but we are unable to mention any other characteristic, in that appalling description, which did not belong to them as a people, when christianity began to exert an influence upon them.

It is said the natives were 'cheerful.' There was doubtless much rude laughter, a sort of heedless gaiety, when they met, either for their obscene songs and dances, or for other amusements. In this respect they much resembled ignorant and thoughtless children, who have been brought up in some debased and dissolute neighborhood, and who, amid their coarse jokes and idle banter, laugh at everything. Though the islanders do not appear to value human life at all, when they can gain any desirable object by killing each other, yet it has always been safe for white men to travel among them. This does not appear to be accounted for, however, by the restraining influence of moral principle. How far the policy of Tamehameha, which induced him to cultivate intercourse with foreigners, and how far the dread of civilized men, which is so common among savages, may have had an effect in this matter, we are unable to say.

The Reviewer, in another place, calls the Sandwich Islanders a 'simple-minded people,' by which we suppose he means, that they are ready to believe what they are told, and that they are frank and honest in their own declarations. This is a total mistake. Distrust and treachery are among the vices of almost all savages. For their distrust, however, they are not so much to be blamed; because it is the result of their painful experience. This universal want of confidence is perhaps their greatest source of torment; and it is the great evil with which missionaries have to contend, for a series of years, at the commencement of every mission. So much have savages usually seen, both among themselves and their visitors, of treachery, fraud, and villany, that they do not believe it possible, that any man should be actuated by other than selfish and sinister views. They utterly discredit professions of disinterested friendship; though they do not always tell you so to your face. They know nothing, either from what passes within their own bosoms, or from what takes place within the range of their observation, which would make them think, that missionaries should leave their homes, and reside in a foreign land, merely for the sake of doing good. But when they have looked on for a few years, and have witnessed the coincidence between professions and conduct; when they have seen missionaries labor patiently for the benefit of froward and heedless strangers; and when they experience the salutary influence of such labors; it is not uncommon that they yield a confidence

unlimited, in the same proportion as it had been pertinaciously withheld. The Reviewer, in the case before us, seeing this confidence reposed in the American missionaries, and not knowing how laboriously, and against how many obstacles it had been won, supposed it was to be accounted for by looking at the simple-mindedness of the natives.

When the first missionaries arrived, in the spring of 1820, the mass of the people were in a state of ignorance, degradation, and misery, greater than can be imagined by any one, who has always resided in a christian country. There is no doubt, that they were much more wretched, than when the islands were discovered by Captain Cook. Two most frightful causes of calamity had been introduced by foreigners; namely, a loathsome disease, and the use of distilled spirits; and both these causes, with many others, had been in such a state of aggravation, as to threaten the islands with absolute depopulation. It is believed, on good grounds, that the number of inhabitants had diminished one half, in little more than forty years; and that the downward course was never more rapid, than at the time here alluded to. The common people were poor in the extreme, almost utterly destitute of clothing, living in hovels, with the loose straw on which they slept, and their matted hair, filled with vermin. To raise up such a people, from their degradation, did the missionaries devote their lives.

But the moral condition of the islands cannot be more forcibly represented by any one fact, than by the notorious practice of celebrating the death of a high chief by Bacchanalian and Eleusinian orgies; or, in plainer language, by an unbounded license, extended through several days, for every individual to do what he pleased. One would think that now was the time for a *kind-hearted* people to show their kindness; and for an *inoffensive* people to do no harm; for here was no constraint of any kind. The theory of the custom, or what may be called *the fiction of the law*, was, that the grief of the people was so excessive, that they knew not what they did, and therefore they could not be held responsible for their conduct. In accordance with this fiction, immediately on the death of a chief being announced, a most ungovernable wailing ensued; all the people of both sexes crying, screaming, shrieking, and expressing their sorrow by most vehement gesticulations, and working themselves up to a most extravagant frenzy. They tore out

their hair, beat their breasts, knocked out their teeth, cut themselves, and struck themselves on the head, with clubs, or any hard substance, which fell in their way. Then followed a universal, promiscuous, public, shameless prostitution of females, from which neither age nor rank was exempt. In these days of riot and debauchery, robberies were perpetrated, every old grudge was remembered, and murders were not uncommon. Language is inadequate to describe the scene.

After such a recital, it is pleasing to add, that christianity has already put an end to these abominations. Keopuolani, the mother of Riho-Riho, died in September, 1823. She was, in point of rank, the highest person in the islands; and, in pursuance of ancient custom, her death would have been the signal for the greatest enormities. But she had embraced the Gospel; and, in anticipation, had taken measures to prevent these evils. The people wailed greatly at her decease; but other extravagances were not witnessed.

When the news of Riho-Riho's death arrived from England, Karaimoku took special pains to abolish what remained of this practice, and was entirely successful.

As to the islanders being so kind and simple-minded, another fact may not be improper. During the slight insurrection, or rebellion, at Tauai, which has been already mentioned, Karaimoku, being then under the influence of christian principles, gave the most humane orders to his armed men, as to the treatment of their vanquished and flying adversaries. But some of the inferior chiefs yielded to their own ferocious dispositions, rather than to his orders, unnecessarily destroying both lives and property; and there were instances of their shooting and stabbing, out of mere wantonness, infirm, helpless, aged persons, of both sexes, who had not borne arms, and who never even thought of resistance. This was not done by old soldiers, hardened in camps; but by young men, who had never seen war before, and to whom this was the first opportunity of publicly killing their fellow-subjects, under the color of authority. In former times, as all tradition unites in declaring, wars of extermination were waged; by which we mean, that it was common to give no quarter, and to massacre the women and children of the vanquished party. And this mode of warfare has been practised, in other islands of the Pacific, as missionaries have witnessed with their own eyes.

When Karaimoku, Kaahumanu, and other chiefs had begun

to learn something of the true religion, and to see the reasonableness of its requirements, their eyes were gradually opened to behold the enormity of their previous character and conduct. And so it was with the common people. None of them pleaded the kindness of their hearts; but all were ready to confess, that their minds had been in darkness, their hearts evil, and their conduct abominable.

Every person acquainted with the human character is aware, that no vice is more destructive of all that is noble and generous in man, and that none leaves a more indelible stain, or brings more deep and thorough debasement, than lewdness in its aggravated forms. Yet this vice is of all others least restrained throughout Polynesia. Of this fact, the editor of the 'Voyage' seems to have been not altogether unapprized. In connexion with some benefits, indirectly acknowledged, as conferred upon the natives by the American mission, we find the following sentence.

'It is to be hoped, also, that the spiritual doctrine that those gentlemen are inculcating, and the habit of universal clothing, which the chiefs, who have travelled, are desirous of introducing, will check the vice and its consequent evils, which have been too often mentioned and lamented by former visitors, to require a more serious notice here.' p. 137.

The most favorable specimen of composition, which we can give from the volume before us, is a description, of part of the funeral solemnities, on landing the remains of the king and queen at Honoruru.

'Having reached the church, which was hung with black on the occasion, the cars were drawn up before the door, and the persons of the procession formed a circle around, while the chaplain of the Blonde read the funeral service in English, and the American missionary addressed the assembly in their native tongue. The procession then, in the same order, marched to the same house, belonging to Karaimoku, where we had been received the day after our arrival.

'As soon as the coffins were deposited on the platform, the band accompanied some native singers in a funeral hymn, which the missionaries had written and taught them to sing to the air of Pleyel's German Hymn. We could not help reflecting on the strange combination of circumstances here before us. Every thing, native-born and ancient in the isles, was passing away; the dead chiefs lay there, hidden in more splendid ceremonies than their

ancestors had ever dreamed of; no bloody sacrifice stained their obsequies, nor was one obscene memorial made to insult the soul as it left its earthly tenement; but instead, there was hope held out of a resurrection to happiness, and the doctrines admitted that put an end to sacrifice for ever and pronounced the highest blessing on the highest purity. Where the naked savage only had been seen, the decent clothing of a cultivated people had succeeded, and its adoption, though now occasional, promises permanency at no distant period. Mingled with these willing disciples, were the warlike and the noble of the land, the most remote on the globe, teaching by their sympathy, the charities that soften, yet dignify human nature. The savage yells of brutal orgies were now silenced; and as the solemn sounds were heard for the first time, uniting the instruments of Europe, and the composition of a learned musician, to the simple voice of the savage, and words, not indeed harsh in themselves, framed into verse by the industry and piety of the teachers from a remote nation, came upon the ear, it was impossible not to feel a sensation approaching to awe, as the marvellous and rapid change a few years have produced, was called up to the mind.' pp. 128—130.

This passage is known to be from the pen of Mr Bloxam, as it is distinctly remembered by the missionary, now in this country, who read parts of his journal. Several expressions in it, such as 'bloody sacrifice,' 'obscene memorial,' and 'the savage yells of brutal orgies,' do not seem to be in very exact agreement, with what was quoted respecting a 'kind-hearted and inoffensive people.'

But to let that matter rest, it would seem that a mighty transformation had taken place,—one which is here celebrated in strains of warm panegyric, and one which might naturally have excited so much respect, if not admiration, for 'the industry and piety of the teachers,' by whose persevering labor it had been effected, as to have secured them from any rude attacks throughout the volume. Such attacks, however, are made; and in such a manner, and under such circumstances, as to require investigation, and to deserve the attention of the public.

In a preceding passage, after describing the first public interview between Lord Byron and the chiefs, when he was introduced to the young king, and the presents of the British government were delivered, the editor, or journalist, adds;

'The ceremonies being over, and the gifts delivered, the American missionary, Mr Bingham, *who loses no opportunity of ming-*

ling in every business, proposed prayers ; and accordingly said what may be called a *long dull grace* to the entertainment, first in English, and then, as it appeared to us, more easily in the Sandwich tongue. As soon as he had ended, refreshments were placed for us on a table.' pp. 117, 118.

On this passage our first remark is, that we exonerate Mr Bloxam entirely from the least suspicion of having written it, or given his consent to it. Were it correct in point of fact, the expressions are so unsuitable to be used by one minister of the Gospel, in speaking of another who had treated him with kindness and respect, that we should not charge them upon him, unless compelled to do so by irresistible evidence. Happily, the presumption is the other way. The paragraph was written, probably, either by a midshipman, who stood in so remote a part of the hall as not to know what took place, or who received the account by hearsay altogether ; or by a correspondent at the islands, who is laboring to find proofs of Mr Bingham's interference with politics ; or by the editor in London, who, seeing it mentioned in the journal, that Mr Bingham offered a prayer, may have inferred, that he proposed it himself. We are inclined to think, that the midshipmen must share the authorship of this precious *morceau* among themselves.

Now as to the truth of the statement, we are able to say, that the prayer was *not* proposed by Mr Bingham, but by Karaimoku. This was stated in the journal of the missionaries, written at the time, and since published in this country, and has lately been confirmed to us verbally, by one of them who was present. Soon after the formal introduction of Lord Byron, the delivery of the presents, and the reception of them with suitable acknowledgments, Karaimoku turned to Lord Byron, and, in a very respectful and dignified manner, expressed himself in words, which were interpreted nearly as follows ; ' Would it not be well to unite in a prayer of thanksgiving to Jehovah, that he has inclined the king of England to show favor to us poor people, in sending to us the remains of our king and queen, and that he has preserved you safely during the voyage, and brought you to our islands ? ' To this proposal, which was made spontaneously, and without any consultation with the missionaries, Lord Byron readily assented. Karaimoku then requested Mr Bingham to offer the prayer, which was a matter of course, as he was the only missionary present

who had long been in the habit of speaking the native language; and, indeed, the only ordained missionary, who resided permanently at that place.

Nor is it true that the prayer was a *long dull grace*. By the word *grace*, we presume an invocation of the divine blessing, with reference to food or refreshments, was intended. The prayer was what Karaimoku proposed it should be,—an ascription of thanks for the past. It appears from the writer's own statement, that the refreshments were not produced, till after the prayer was ended. So much for the historical accuracy of the report of this transaction.

It would not be worth while to take notice of such blunders and misrepresentations, were they not made the foundation of serious charges against the mission. It should be remembered, that where there is one impudent writer, there will be many unreflecting readers, who will take him at his word; and that, when men hold so public and responsible a station, as is held by the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands, it is a serious evil, that unfavorable opinions should be extensively formed of their character, in consequence of falsehoods and misrepresentations, circulated through what are deemed respectable channels.

We must pause here to apprise our readers of the true grounds of opposition to the labors and character of the missionaries, as it has existed for the last three years. These grounds may be classed under three heads.

1. Among the visiters and foreign residents at the Sandwich Islands, there are not a few whose love of gain is much stronger than their love of morality. These people have the sagacity to see, that if the influence of the mission prevails, so as to discourage or put an end to drunkenness, there will be fewer purchasers of rum; and that, if the mass of the people learn to read and write, and become intelligent, it will not be so easy, as it has been, to make profitable bargains out of them.

2. Most visiters at the islands have been in habits of licentious intercourse with the native females. This intercourse is, through the influence of christianity, becoming more difficult. At several ports it has already become absolutely impracticable. More than two years ago, the chiefs at Hono-ruru, who hold the general government of the islands, were about establishing some new laws on the basis of the Deca-

logue. This praiseworthy attempt was made the signal of a general conspiracy on the part of abandoned foreigners to overawe the chiefs, and prevent the establishment of any laws, which should have respect to the *seventh commandment*. We blush to record, that individuals, who call themselves gentlemen, and who went from a christian land,—men who know very well the miseries, which lewdness has inflicted upon these islanders, and how impossible it is to raise them to a state of comfort or civilization, while vices of this class are unrestrained, —should yet be held in such slavery to their brutal passions, as to be willing, for the gratification of these passions, to consign the natives, through all succeeding ages, to poverty, disease, and hopeless debasement. There have been sea captains and others, who have given their decided influence to the cause of morality and good order, and who have honorably distinguished themselves in this manner ; but we are sorry to add, that these must be considered in the light of exceptions ; and it grieves us still more to say, that there have not been wanting instances of the perversion of official station to embarrass the chiefs, in their efforts to promote morality among their people ; and that the direct and known tendency of this perversion of influence was to make the reign of vice and crime perpetual and universal. It is safe to affirm, that three quarters of the opposition, which has raged so furiously at the islands, has arisen from the fear that the missionaries would exert such an influence, as to prevent the illicit intercourse of foreigners with the women.

3. The remaining cause of obloquy and opposition, is an apprehension that, as the missionaries are Americans, and are exerting a great influence upon the people, this influence will ultimately clash with that right of guardianship and protection, which is claimed for the British. Comparatively few feel the weight of this motive ; but these few are very busy, and to their activity the misrepresentations of the volume before us are principally to be attributed.

An opposition being thus formed, and fed by motives continually and briskly operating, some pretext for it must be assigned ; the true reasons not being sufficiently creditable to the opposers. The missionaries had been the happy and voluntary instruments of producing a great change in the moral condition of the people. Drunkenness had been nearly prevented, though four years ago it was more prevalent than among

any other people in the known world. Lewdness had been greatly restrained ; and foreigners began to apprehend, that they should themselves be compelled to be more moral, or to seek the indulgence of their vicious propensities in some region, which had not experienced the power of christianity. The missionaries, as a natural consequence of their great and benevolent services, were held in high estimation by the chiefs and people. Having uniformly shown themselves to be men of truth and integrity, diligence and disinterestedness, they had established for themselves a character, such as had never been known at the islands before. The chiefs had a great regard for their advice, and would doubtless have received it gladly on any subject, on which they would be willing to give it. As the chiefs had actually made laws, which bore hard upon the vices of foreigners ; as these laws had been undeniably prompted by a regard to religion ; and as religion had been introduced by the missionaries only, it seems very plausible to assert, that *the missionaries had interfered with the government of the islands*. This assertion has therefore been made, and a thousand times repeated ; with what truth will appear in the sequel.

The opposition has been felt toward *all* the missionaries, and their whole system of operations ; but as Mr Bingham was one of the little band, who first arrived, and the only ordained missionary permanently residing at Honorable (the seat of government and the place where foreigners principally resort), it was to be expected, that he should experience a large share of hatred, and should often be selected by name for crimination and reproach.

Beside the charge of interference with the government, there is also a heavy impeachment of the mission, on the ground of the strict observance of the Sabbath, and the numerous religious services, which have been imposed upon the natives. Both these topics of complaint are displayed in the following long quotation from the Voyage.

‘ Unhappily, the good men who, as missionaries, have abandoned the sweets of civilized society, to devote themselves to the improvement of these Islands, and in obedience to the command, “Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them,” are of a sect too austere, as we should think, for the purposes they are so anxious to promote.

‘ The old tabus are indeed no more ; but they have called Sun-

day the *la tabu*, or consecrated day, and nothing in the heathen time could be more strictly tabued. The missionaries forbid the making of fire, even to cook, on Sunday; they insist on the appearance of their proselytes five times at church every day; and having persuaded them, that they are the necessary conductors to heaven, they are acquiring a degree of public and private importance, which, but for the situation of the islands, which secures a constant accession of foreigners for the purposes of commerce, would bid fair to renew the Jesuitical dominion of Paraguay. It is true they defend their system by saying, that since the tabu for the false deities was so severely kept, the proselytes might despise our doctrine, did we pay less regard to Him, whom we preach as the true God; that, as to the not cooking on Sundays, it is no hardship, for it has always been the habit to cook enough for two or three days at a time, and to eat cold meats between the cooking days, because the mode of dressing food by fire-pits and heated stones is so very slow; and as to the frequency and length of the prayers, the people have nothing better to do. Such are their answers. But other missionaries have found something for their catechumens to do. The Moravians at the Cape of Good Hope have taught the Hottentots, the most degraded race of men, and that nearest, before their time, to the brutes, the arts of civilized life.' 'We believe mistaken zeal to be the source of many of the errors we see; but we fear, also, that some of the love of power has mingled with the zeal, and that the government of the country, through the medium of the consciences of the chiefs, is a very great, if not the principal object, of at least one of the mission.

'We had a striking proof of their power the other night. It was Saturday; and as Karaimoku was now well enough to enjoy a spectacle, the promise made to Boki of reserving some of the figures of the phantasmagoria, for his friends at Oahu, was recalled, and preparations were accordingly made for its exhibition. As it was a public show, every body was expected to be there; and if Messrs Bingham and friends were not expressly invited, it was probably because it was supposed they would come, if they did not imagine the amusement of too worldly a nature. They had certainly due notice of it; for that very morning one of the party had a long conversation with one of the officers on the subject. How were we astonished, therefore, when all things being prepared, the company assembled, and among the rest the little king and princess, notice was given, that, on so near an approach of the Sabbath, prayer was a fitter employment! Accordingly, the two poor children were carried off in tears, and many of the chiefs and people followed to the missionary meeting. Karaimoku and Kaahumanu however staid with us, and were extreme-

ly charmed with the exhibition, examining the room after it was over, and exhausting themselves in conjectures as to the manner in which it was produced.

‘The intemperate indecency of this conduct, on the part of the mission, seems to have occurred to the more reasonable among themselves. Mr Stewart was with his wife, whose health is exceedingly delicate, at some distance; a note was sent to him, we think by Mr Bingham, to tell him what was going on. His sensible advice was, that the missionaries, with their congregation, should adjourn in a body to the theatre, see the show, and then return to prayers. This advice however was not acted upon, and our phantasms played to a thin house.

‘Mr Stewart endeavored to explain the matter as follows;—It appears that two native teachers, who were highly regarded in the Island, and who had the more influence over their countrymen, as they spoke their own language, and were of their own kindred, had been brought up *in one of the United States*, where the Jewish method of reckoning time is observed, *and the day begins and ends at noon*; hence the Sunday, the first day of the week, begins at noon on Saturday the seventh day; and these teachers, having adopted this computation of time, have established Saturday meetings and exercises accordingly. This is very well so far as it goes; but Mr Bingham, the head of the mission, uses, on all other occasions, the christian measure of time; and he does not appear to be a person quietly to let two youths intrude with new ordinances on his *cure*.* Indeed, his own explanation admits the fact, that the meeting was of his own planning, and that having called his people together, he left the choice to themselves.’ pp. 145—150.

The Quarterly Reviewer seizes upon the forgoing story with greediness, and repeats it in the following version.

‘There was one point, however, on which Lord Byron appears justly to have felt some uneasiness, and this was the tone, manner, and line of conduct of the American missionaries, particularly one of the name of Bingham. The influence which this man had acquired over the simple natives, and his uncalled for interference in petty concerns wholly unconnected with his mission, were but too manifest on several occasions, but never more open-

* ‘We have learned, by the arrival of persons who visited the islands after us, that the *almost open assumption of power by the mission* had created the greatest jealousy in the minds of the chiefs. The impaired state of Karaimoku’s health rendered them very anxious, and seemed to have opened to the mission the hope of reigning in the name of the little king.’

ly nor more offensively, than when Boki, one Saturday evening, expressed a wish to entertain his countrymen with an exhibition of phantasmagoria. The young king and his sister, with many of the chiefs and people, had assembled to see the show, when, behold ! a message was received from this Bingham, " that on so near an approach of the Sabbath, prayer was a fitter employment ! " and such was the ascendancy which this man had gained, that " the two poor children were carried off in tears, and many of the chiefs and people followed to the missionary meeting." Mr Stewart, another of the missionaries, ashamed of the indecency of such conduct, was anxious to explain the matter, by saying, that they followed the Jewish mode of reckoning, and considered Sunday to begin on Saturday at noon.' No. LXX, p. 438.

We propose to give our readers a brief history of this transaction, as it really took place ; but we must anticipate the narrative a little by saying, that, after the exhibition of the magic lantern, about ten o'clock on Saturday evening, Mr Bingham learned, that the attendance of the chiefs had been small. He immediately wrote a letter to Lord Byron, with a view of explaining the misunderstanding, so far as he was able. This letter is printed in the Voyage ; for what purpose we cannot divine, as it completely falsifies all the allegations of the voyager, which are worth notice. It is preceded by a paragraph, which we first quote.

'The following is a copy of the letter sent to Lord Byron on this occasion. It is written by the American missionary Bingham. This man is, we have no doubt, *truly zealous in the cause of religion* ; but we cannot forbear to remark, that he has in a manner thrust himself into *all the political affairs of the island*, and acts as secretary of state, as governor of the young princes, director of consciences, *comptroller of amusements*, &c. an interference that some may regard as political, *and tending to establish an American interest in the islands*, and others, as produced by circumstances which Mr Bingham has not the prudence to avoid.'

p. 111.

This letter, which the editor denominates 'curious,' appears to us very suitable, and though written in haste, is such as Mr Bingham has no occasion to regret.*

* The letter here follows in full.

'Oahu, Saturday Evening.

'My Lord,

I take the liberty to address you a line, simply to acquaint you with the ground of a partial misunderstanding this evening. Though

The Quarterly Review says, with an air of infinite self-complacency, speaking of the American missionaries, that 'they have so little judgment, and are so little acquainted with the human heart, as to let their zeal outrun discretion on many occasions and in many shapes; and this,' adds the Reviewer, 'we knew to be the case before now.' It is to be presumed, that the foregoing extracts furnish some of the strongest proofs of the incompetency of the missionaries, which the Reviewer was able to produce; and, in this presumption, we must invite our readers to examine the subject with some attention.

When the Blonde arrived at Honoruru, just five years had elapsed from the first establishment of the mission. Within that time, the missionaries had learned the language without those helps, which all their successors will enjoy; adopted an alphabet; reduced to some form, a dialect never before written; taught all the highest chiefs to read and write; printed elementary books; established many schools for children and adults; preached the Gospel to the people in their own tongue; caused them to understand the plain principles of the Bible; impressed upon the minds of these uncivilized hearers some

we do not regard Saturday evening as belonging to the Sabbath, yet the people have been instructed, both by Mr Ellis and ourselves, to make preparation on Saturday for the proper observance of the Sabbath. A number of chiefs have been accustomed of late to assemble, of their own accord, for social worship among themselves on Saturday evening; and were assembling for that purpose this evening. This will, I hope, account for the apparent reluctance of some of them to receive your truly kind attentions. Several asked our advice; and we told them expressly we would not detain them from the exhibition, which you had kindly proposed to show them, but would have them act their own pleasure.

'This, I assured Mr Ball, was the fact, when he came to my house for Mr Pitt.

'I have taken the liberty to make this explanation, in order to show you, that we would studiously avoid any interference in any of your intercourse with the chiefs; and while I can assure you I entertain a high sense of the honor and the kindness, which you and your honored king and highly favored country have done this nation, I cherish the hope, that those efforts on your part may, in connexion with our feeble exertions, be crowned with happy and complete success.

You will therefore allow me to be,

My Lord,

Very respectfully and sincerely yours,

H. BINGHAM.'

To the Rt. Hon. Lord Byron.

just views of the government of God, the reasonableness and perfection of his laws, and the plan of salvation clearly revealed in the New Testament; and, in short, exerted an influence which seemed likely to bring all the inhabitants into the order and happiness of christian society. Such results had been witnessed by the blessing of God upon incessant labor, endured in the midst of 'weariness and painfulness,' and many privations, in a tropical climate, by men and women, who left inviting situations in their own country, for the sole purpose of raising up pagans and foreigners from the lowest state of debasement, to the dignity of 'fellow-citizens with the saints and members of the household of God.' It would not be amiss for the editor of the 'Voyage' and the Quarterly Reviewer to reflect, that such persons ought not to be impeached before the whole civilized world, unless upon weighty and substantial grounds. And what are the grounds of impeachment, which are spread over so many quarto pages, and transferred, with such scrupulous care, that they should lose nothing, into the widely circulating sheets of the most important review in the British metropolis? When stripped of verbiage, they all amount to the single charge, that on a certain occasion, *one* of these missionaries expressed his opinion, that *prayer was a fitter employment for Saturday evening, than an attendance upon an exhibition of the magic lantern*; and the inferences are, that the missionaries impose an intolerable strictness upon the people; that they interfere in political measures; that they domineer over the chiefs; that they have acquired a threatening influence over the conscience; that, through this influence, they aim at the government of the islands; and that, to crown the whole, they are destitute of common sense. Now we insist, in the name of justice, that this whole string of inferences be stricken out of the indictment. Not one of them follows from the mere fact, that a missionary should think an established religious service a better preparation for the Sabbath, than attending an exhibition of phantasmagoria. Even if the expression of such an opinion were erroneous and absurd, still so long a chain of inferences cannot be attached to it. Supposing Mr Bingham had expressed an opinion, which *seemed* rather indiscreet, would not candor require, that all the circumstances of the case should be known, before sentence should be pronounced against him? Is it probable, that the journalist knew these circumstances? and if not, how could

he decide whether the alleged opinion were indiscreet, or not? Mr Bingham may have known very little of the manner in which the exhibition had been invited, or of the inconvenience of delaying it? It is said, indeed, by the voyager, that 'Mr Bingham and friends had due notice of it; for that very morning *one of the party* had a long conversation with one of the officers on the subject.' And is this the way of administering justice? Is every member of the mission to be supposed, without any proof, to know every thing, which has been communicated to every other member? Missionaries have many things to do; and, in their numerous avocations, even the proposed exhibition of a magic lantern may have arrested very little of their attention; especially as it was no business of theirs, and they were not even invited to be present.

Again; the voyager could not tell on the spot, nor can we, or the Quarterly Reviewer, tell, how important the religious service was considered by the chiefs, or what consequences were apprehended from their suffering it to be displaced by a mere amusement. But till all these things are known, it is impossible to pronounce a fair and equitable sentence.

The article in the 'Voyage,' and that in the Review, are intended to affect the reputation of the *whole mission*; and this it will do, so far as its representations are credited. But is such a course candid, fair, and honorable? Mr Bingham was but one missionary out of twelve, of whom eight were at that time preachers of the Gospel; and all these preachers, except Mr Stewart and himself, were laboring on other islands. Shall the supposed, or assumed, mistake of *one*, in regard to so small a matter as an evening's amusement, be imputed, as a serious offence to those, who were a hundred miles off, and who, perhaps, will never have heard of the transaction till the Quarterly Review shall meet their eyes?

We have gone thus far upon the admission, that Mr Bingham expressed the opinion imputed to him; but we now deny the fact altogether. There is not the slightest proof of it; and Mr Bingham's letter affords a strong presumption against it.

It may be well to state here, as briefly as possible, the real facts and circumstances of the case; and, in making this statement, we shall rely upon the published account of Mr Stewart, and upon verbal communications received from that gentleman, who was personally present with Mr Bingham, at the time of his alleged interference; whereas, neither Mr Bloxam nor Mrs Graham, nor the midshipmen, were thus present.

While Boki and his party were on their passage from England, they were amused with the wonders of the magic lantern; and Boki, apprehending that these wonders would be exhausted, begged that the show might proceed no further; and that some part of it might be preserved for the gratification of his friends at the islands. One Saturday morning, when Kaahumanu, a female of high rank and now principal regent, was breakfasting on board the *Blonde*, the magic lantern was mentioned, and the inquiry made, when she would like to see the exhibition. She replied, *this evening*; either not reflecting what day of the week it was, or not adverting to the regularly appointed religious services, to which some of the chiefs had recently begun to attend, on Saturday evening.* Not long after, that is, some time in the forenoon, Lord Byron met with Mr Stewart, and informed him of the appointment; to which Mr Stewart made no objection, saying, that he presumed the chiefs would be highly gratified. Not considering the intimation of Lord Byron in the light of an invitation, he did not mention the fact to the other missionaries. What is more remarkable, Kaahumanu did not mention the appointment to any of the chiefs. This omission was probably the result of mere inattention or forgetfulness.

Toward evening the chiefs began to assemble for their religious service, which had been established and was conducted by themselves alone, and to which some of them were strongly attached. At this moment, the phantasmagoria occurred to the mind of Kaahumanu; and she inquired what was to be done. The general voice was, that the religious service should proceed, and the amusement should be deferred till Monday night. A messenger was despatched to Lord Byron; but all was too late. His lordship and suite, with the band of music, were rapidly approaching. The messenger met them at the gate; and, not having received any discretionary orders, cried *tabu*, and shut the gate; as much as to say, *You must not come; all ingress is forbidden*. This was, indeed, quite un-

* The occasion of the meeting, which interfered with Kaahumanu's appointment, was as follows. Kapiolani and her husband Naihi had recently come down from Hawaii, where a religious meeting for Saturday evening had been some time established. At their instance, a similar meeting was commenced at Honoruru. The missionaries neither originated nor conducted it, nor were they expected to be present.

ceremonious, and not very civil to Lord Byron, who had come by express appointment, and merely out of kindness to do the chiefs a pleasure. It was natural, therefore, that he should speak with some decision, and call upon a native interpreter to know the occasion of such treatment. The native, not being able to speak much English at best, and being greatly disturbed by the apprehension that Lord Byron was displeased, did not express himself intelligibly; but could only say something about *chiefs*, and *prayers*, and *tabu*, and *Sabbath*, and *missionaries*. He probably meant something like this; *that, before the Sabbath, the chiefs were in the habit of attending prayers, or of holding meetings of a similar character with those, which were held by missionaries.* On hearing this explanation, such as it was, Lord Byron thought it very strange, that an appointment of a religious service should be made at such a time, and in such circumstances. The chiefs, seeing him discomposed, and wishing neither to give up a solemn meeting, nor to afford any cause of offence, walked to one of the mission houses, where Mr Bingham and Mr Stewart were together. This was the time, when Mr Bingham is stated by the Quarterly Reviewer to have acted so ‘offensively.’ On hearing the circumstances of the case, Mr Bingham declined saying more than that he did not think it wrong for those to attend the amusement, who felt disposed to do so; and that he thought it should be left to the inclination of each individual. The chiefs, acting according to this suggestion, went, some of them to the exhibition, and some to the prayer meeting, which was removed at a little distance. Some left the show in disgust, and retired to the prayer meeting. The young king was persuaded to be present at the entertainment, where he witnessed the whole; and with him Karaimoku and Kaahumanu stayed to the close. The minds of the chiefs were discomposed by the various blunders of the evening. Uncivilized men, of all others, do not like to enter upon a party of pleasure by compulsion, or while in a state of disappointment. The young princess would not leave her hiding-place; and, as the voyager correctly says, ‘the phantasms were played to a thin house.’

It afterwards appeared, that Lord Byron felt more than any thing else the seeming interference between his intended kindness to the natives and a religious service appointed, as he then supposed, by the missionaries. When he became acquainted with all the facts, and learned the true cause of the

disappointment, he declared himself, in a note now in the possession of Mr Stewart, to be perfectly satisfied, and added, that the transaction had left upon his mind no impression unfavorable to the mission.

After this narrative, let us advert to the errors in the statement of the voyager. It is not true, that 'notice was given, that, on so near an approach of the Sabbath, prayer was a fitter employment;' nor that 'the two poor children were carried away in tears;' nor that 'the chiefs and people followed to the missionary meeting,' as there *was no missionary meeting*; nor that 'Mr Stewart was at some distance,' he being in the house with Mr Bingham; nor that 'a note was sent to him by Mr Bingham,' or any one else, 'to tell him what was going on,' as he was, in fact, the only one of the missionaries who previously knew; nor that he 'advised the missionaries and their congregation to adjourn in a body to the theatre,' as he had no thought of attending the exhibition, and had not even mentioned it to his brethren; nor that he 'explained the matter by a reference to the Jewish Sabbath;' nor that the 'native youths were educated in one of the United States, where the day begins and ends at noon.' Mr Stewart did not even know, till the Reviewer informed him, that the Jewish Sabbath began at Saturday noon, nor that the people in any one of the United States followed the Jews in this respect.

Nor does Mr Bingham's letter admit, 'that the meeting was of his own planning.' On the contrary, it implies that the meeting was planned by others, where it says, that 'a number of chiefs have been accustomed of late to assemble, *of their own accord*, for social worship.' The reference to Mr Ellis, and to the general course of instruction on the subject of preparing for the Sabbath, was doubtless intended to show his lordship, that the idea of a religious meeting of some sort, or in some circumstances, on Saturday evening, was no new thing; and that therefore the chiefs, in commencing and maintaining such a meeting were not acting from mere whim, or sudden impulse. Nine or ten errors are rather too many for so short a piece of history. The Reviewer adds to the number by saying, without *even the color of authority*, that Mr Bingham sent a message to the meeting; or, to use his delicate and urbane language, '*Behold! a message was received from this Bingham*;' a most inexorable message, indeed, if, as the Reviewer affirms, 'such was the ascendancy which this man

had gained, that "the two poor children [the young king of the islands and his sister] were carried off in tears."

This message, with its appalling consequences to the poor children, and all the portentous evils which were indicated by it, are sheer fabrications.

The voyager says, 'that every body was expected to be there, though Messrs Bingham and friends were not expressly invited;' and his reasons for expecting every body to be present are, 'that it was a public show,' and the missionaries 'certainly had due notice of it.' It is true that Mr Stewart was told by Lord Byron himself, that the magic lantern was to be exhibited *to the natives, at the solicitation of Kaahumanu*; and that he replied, that he thought the natives would be pleased. But does this prove that Mr Stewart *knew* that the show was to be public? or that he was bound to consider this incidental conversation as a notice to attend? And was the show public in fact? Were the sea-captains, and other foreign residents, admitted as a part of the company? The voyager does not say they were; and, if they had been, we think the house would not have been so *thin*, as it is represented to have been.

Let us suppose, that, in consequence of the casual conversation above alluded to, Mr Stewart and all the members of the mission had attended the exhibition. Would not the candid voyager, and the no less candid reviewer, have delicately hinted, that these American missionaries, notwithstanding their republican origin, were very glad to associate with nobility, whenever they could? that they were quite forward enough to thrust themselves into parties, where they were not invited? that they were not willing the chiefs should witness a trifling amusement, without being themselves present? that their rigor, in imposing needless austerities upon others, did not prevent their liking a little season of recreation, and their uniting with others in being pleased with the ludicrous representations of the magic lantern, late on Saturday evening? and that, for the honor of good society, and the gratifications of a public show, they readily dispensed with a regularly appointed religious service? Might there not, in such a state of things, have been more plausibility than at present, in calling Mr Bingham the 'comptroller of public amusements?'

The indictment preferred against Mr Bingham is, that he interferes with the petty concerns of the natives, by *controlling*

their amusements, directing their consciences, &c. The only proof worth mentioning, produced by the voyager, is the letter of Mr Bingham, by which it appears, that he neither controlled the amusements, nor directed the consciences of the chiefs; unless it be a direction of conscience to have said, that it was *not a case of conscience at all*, and that he saw no objection to the chiefs *doing just as they pleased*. The accuracy of the statements in this letter is not doubted by the voyager; and yet he seems to exult in having made out his charge. This is the most remarkable prosecution we ever heard of. The accuser produces no proof in support of his allegation, not a single particle of evidence being brought home to Mr Bingham; but he volunteers on the other side, and proves, what no accused party is bound to do in order to his complete defence, *a decided negative of the whole charge*.

Let us suppose, again, that the missionaries had acted differently; that Mr Stewart had hurried to Mr Bingham with the intelligence, that the magic lantern was to be exhibited, and that he presumed the show would be public; that they had next apprized of the fact all the other members of the mission; and that, neglecting their appropriate business, their correspondence, schools, translations, the care of the sick, and preparation for the Sabbath, they had visited all the chiefs, and told them to suspend all their engagements, stated and occasional, civil and sacred, for the Rev. Mr Bloxam was coming to amuse them with a public show of phantasmagoria? and that, after this bustle and preparation, all had assembled, in due and ample order, chiefs and people, missionaries and their wives, sea-captains and sailors, and had enjoyed the exhibition without the least interruption or alloy? Would this have comported with the voyager's ideas of the dignity and propriety of the missionary character? Till he recommends a better course, than that which was actually pursued, we must be permitted to think that he has shown nothing reprehensible in the conduct of Mr Bingham and his associates.

About three weeks after this affair, a general council of the chiefs was held, at which the young king was confirmed as the successor of Riho-Riho, a regency was appointed during his minority, some salutary laws approved, and a formal approbation given to missionary labors. Lord Byron, his officers, and the missionaries were present by invitation. The chiefs expressed their opinions at considerable length, the substance of which is given in the 'Voyage.'

‘ Lord Byron was now called upon to speak, when he presented to Karaimoku and the other chiefs, *a paper containing a few hints* concerning their affairs, which he wished them to look over at their leisure, and if they approved of them, to adopt them as their own, but not as the dictates of the British government, *which had no wish whatever to interfere with the regulations of the chiefs, who must be the best judges of what suited the people.*’

pp. 154, 155.

The wisdom and propriety of Lord Byron’s conduct, as exhibited in this paragraph, must be obvious to every person ; especially in two particulars, his communicating his thoughts in writing, and his expressly disclaiming any right of himself as an agent of the British government to interfere in the political affairs of the country. It would have been well, if every subsequent visiter of the islands had imitated this truly excellent example.

The transactions of the council, *in regard to the mission*, are not accurately related by the voyage.

‘ A conversation then ensued among the chiefs on the subject of the missionaries ; and Lord Byron was asked if the king of England had any objection to the settling of the American mission in the Islands, and instructing the people. His lordship said that he had heard that the missionaries had an intention of drawing up a *code of laws for the people*, and to this he *decidedly objected* ; but so long as these gentlemen did not interfere with the laws or commerce of the country, he could not object to their instructing the natives in reading, and in the christian religion.

‘ Mr Bingham, in behalf of the mission, stated, that the American missionaries had neither the design nor the wish to interfere with the political or commercial concerns of the nation ; being expressly prohibited by their commission, and their public and private instructions from their patrons, from any such interference ; that they act under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, incorporated by the legislature of Massachusetts, for the sole purpose of propagating the Gospel among the heathen ; that it is not for the mission to give laws to the nation, nor to interfere with the authority of the chiefs, nor to engage in commercial speculations, nor to be known otherwise than as propagators of the Gospel ; but, taking the Bible as their guide, their object in residing in these islands is, to enlighten the nation in the doctrines and duties of christianity, that they may obtain its everlasting rewards. This he repeated in the vernacular tongue ; and the council then broke up.’ pp. 155, 156.

We are authorized by an eye-witness to say, that Lord Byron did not express any suspicion, that the missionaries would interfere with the political affairs of the natives. He was called upon, as a public man, and perhaps unexpectedly, to declare his opinion of the object and designs of the missionaries, and nothing could be more proper than to ask for a public statement of what that object and those designs were. Such a statement was promptly given by the missionaries, in the English language, and in the language of the natives, and a copy in English was handed to Lord Byron. How much use the voyager made of this written statement, or how closely he adhered to it, we do not know. He is perfectly correct, however, in saying, that the missionaries then disclaimed (as they have uniformly done on other occasions) all interference with commercial pursuits or political measures.

Perhaps some of our readers may not see the necessity of disclaiming particular designs, unless these designs were, at the time, imputed to the missionaries. It may be well, therefore, to say, that profligate and interested men, who hated the moral influence of the mission, and wished to plunge the natives into deeper and still deeper debasement, have made such allegations against the missionaries, without the least regard to truth or probability, as would be likely to have an unfavorable effect upon the minds of these ignorant people. Among the various causes of alarm are to be numbered, the design of the missionaries to get the lands of the chiefs, to transfer the islands to the United States, to get political influence, to meddle with commerce, and, especially, the tendency of their measures to *offend the English*, and to *bring upon the islands the displeasure of the British government*: This last cause of suspicion was working great evils in the summer of 1822, when it was dissipated by the arrival of the Deputation of the London Missionary Society, who convinced the chiefs, that it was groundless. When Boki arrived in the Blonde, he stated, that the king of England was friendly to the designs of the missionaries; and here was Lord Byron on the spot, a representative of the English government, who might be called upon in public council, to confirm these statements of Boki. The chiefs did not need to be informed what were Lord Byron's private sentiments concerning the mission. They already knew him to be friendly to every social and moral improvement. But they wanted a public declaration, which could be referred to,

as a matter of notoriety, for the purpose of repelling future slanders.

After the statement of the missionaries, Lord Byron said, that, so long as they adhered to their instructions, and acted conformably to their professions, they would be highly deserving the patronage and favor of the chiefs and people. His design obviously was, not to intimate any suspicion, that the missionaries would depart from their instructions; but to make *their public declaration* the basis of *his public approval*; and in this manner it becomes every public functionary to act.

The voyager does Lord Byron great injustice, by making him say of the missionaries, '*that he could not object* to their instructing the natives in reading, and in the christian religion.' The fact was, he gave a warm and decided recommendation, founded, as we have said, upon the public declarations, which had just been made.

We have alluded to Boki's report of an interview with the king of England. This took place at Windsor, some weeks after the death of Riho-Riho. Boki stated at the islands, that the king walked with him through many apartments, and talked with him a good deal. Mrs Graham gives the following account of the interview.

'Boki, who had kept a journal during his residence in England, made very full notes of what passed at this audience. Since his return to his native land, he writes, that he has read these notes so often to the different chiefs, that he has become very hoarse. We regret much that a copy of this journal was not procured while Boki was on board of the *Blonde*.' p. 74.

We are rather incredulous, as to the extent of Boki's notes; for he never held the pen of a ready writer. Still he was *able* to write in his own language, though rather clumsily. But whether he wrote down the words of George the Fourth, or not, it is certain that they made a deep impression upon his mind. These words he repeated publicly, and often. He said, that when he inquired of the king, whether preachers were good men, his Majesty answered, 'Yes; and they are men to make others good. I have always some of them by me; for chiefs are not wise like them. We in England were once like the people in your islands; but this kind of teachers came, and taught our fathers; and now you see what we are.' And again; 'You and your people must take good heed to the

missionaries; for they were sent to enlighten you and do you good. They came not for secular purposes, but by a divine command, to teach you the word of God. The people would therefore all do well to attend to instruction, and to forsake stealing, drunkenness, war, and everything evil, and to live in peace.' This advice certainly well became the ruler of an enlightened christian nation; and it would be happy, if all the king's subjects would imitate the liberality, which is indicated by this advice of their sovereign.

After all that we have said, respecting the positive errors and misrepresentations of the 'Voyage,' the faults of omission are scarcely less remarkable. There is, in many cases, a studied silence respecting the missionaries, which can only be accounted for, by supposing either the voyager, or the editor, to have been actuated by a most unmanly jealousy towards them; either because they were Americans, or because they were not clergymen of the church of England. The Blonde first touched at Lahaina in Maui, where Boki and his suite first landed. Lord Byron conversed for an hour or two with Mr Richards, the missionary residing there, and made many inquiries respecting the islands and the mission. How natural it would have been for a voyager, who was evidently in the most pressing want of materials, to record some of the information thus collected? How natural for a man, who had been eight months within the sides of a ship, to mention his satisfaction at finding a gentleman of intelligence and education, with whom he could converse on the state of these interesting islands. It is highly probable that Mr Bloxam had something of this kind. It seems scarcely possible it should have been otherwise. But not even the name of Mr Richards is mentioned in the book.

After the Blonde had been at Honoruru in Oahu several weeks, and Lord Byron was about to visit Waiakea, on the eastern side of Hawaii, accommodations were kindly afforded to Mr and Mrs Stewart, that they might accompany him in the frigate. The occasion of this polite and generous attention was the ill health of Mrs Stewart, which, it was hoped, might be relieved by a short voyage. During this voyage, of a month in duration, Lord Byron was always affable, and frequently conversed with Mr Stewart in the most free and familiar manner. They went to the volcano together; descended into its immense crater at the same time; and together

beheld the terrific glare of its fires by night. Yet no mention is made by the voyager of this generous conduct of his commander; nor is it even intimated, that Mr Stewart was ever on board the Blonde. This is the more strange, as Mr Bloxam and Mr Stewart showed their journals to each other; and Mr Bloxam wrote some complimentary verses, which have appeared in Mr Stewart's journal, as printed in one of our periodical publications.

While at Waiakea, a party was formed to ascend the highest mountain on the island. Mr Goodrich, the missionary of the place, was one of the party. Some of the officers of the Blonde also belonged to it. The rest of the party failing from fatigue and cold, Mr Goodrich continued to ascend, and reached the highest peak alone. This general account is given in the 'Voyage;' but the name of the missionary is suppressed; nor is the nature of the enterprise described. The fact is, that Mr Goodrich performed an exploit, which Baron Humboldt would have celebrated with enthusiasm. He travelled many miles in the night, after leaving his exhausted companions; continued to ascend till the atmosphere was so rare, as almost to forbid further exertion; passed over large tracts of frozen snow, which was so slippery as to make walking dangerous; found difficulty in deciding which was the highest peak; at last succeeded in selecting and climbing it; and there, at three o'clock in the morning, the moon shining brightly, he stood in that sublime solitude, upon the top of a vast cone, rising out of the Pacific to the limits of perpetual congelation. But this was not thought worthy of being mentioned in the 'Voyage;' the small talk, which is introduced into that meagre volume, being considered as of more importance.

The last time that Lord Byron was on shore, he breakfasted at Mr Bingham's by invitation. This was perhaps eight weeks after the phantasmagoria, and six after the council, at which so much coldness and jealousy of the mission would seem, from the accounts of the voyager, to have been apparent. At this last interview, on the very day of his leaving the islands, Lord Byron made himself very agreeable; said many civil things; and appeared to enjoy the society around him. Being more acquainted with Mr Stewart, than with any other missionary, he inquired confidentially in private, what, in Mr Stewart's opinion, had been the effect of the visit of the Blonde

upon the minds of the chiefs, and the missionaries. This inquiry was frankly answered by the declaration, that a most happy impression had been made, and that Lord Byron would leave the islands with the affectionate respect, the prayers, and the blessing of the missionaries. He replied that, should he arrive safely in England, it would give him pleasure to meet the inquiries of the christian public with a decided testimony to the usefulness and success of the mission. This pledge was honorably redeemed, immediately on his lordship's arrival in London, before a large assembly, the late Joseph Butterworth, M. P. in the chair. Mr Stewart arrived in London soon afterwards, there met Lord Byron, and received from him the same courteous treatment as at the islands. And yet, unless we are mistaken, it does not appear from the 'Voyage,' that this commander *ever deigned to speak to a missionary; or that he ever did a kindness to any member of the American mission.*

Nor would it seem, that the chaplain had any more intercourse with the missionaries, than his captain had. Is it possible, that Mr Bloxam should have written a journal, in which there is not a single mention of his having spoken with ministers of the Gospel, who were almost daily in his company for more than two months; and who were employed in the greatest and most honorable labors, to which human agency is ever applied? and when these labors were cheered with prospects of the most encouraging and delightful nature?

There is another strange deficiency in this compilation from the journal of a chaplain. While the Blonde was at the islands, the principal chiefs were proposed as candidates for making a public profession of religion, after having long had the subject under consideration, and being thought to give sufficient evidence that they understood, and cordially embraced the great principles of the Gospel. Two of these chiefs, who had the greatest influence, namely, Karaimoku and Kaahumanu, are frequently mentioned in the 'Voyage;' and always in terms of respect. Not a word is said, however, about their religious character, or their knowledge of the New Testament. This is the more remarkable, as Mr Bloxam was on board the frigate with Kaahumanu and her sister Piia during the short voyage which has been mentioned. On the whole, the chaplain either had a singular taste, as to the selection of interesting facts to be entered in his journal, or the best part of his lucubrations has been omitted.

The voyager, for the sake of telling a good story, has related, in very glowing language, the visit of a chief woman, Kapiolani, to the crater of the great volcano ; and the Reviewer, being ignorant of all the principal facts and circumstances, has made this story the foundation of a series of remarks, designed not only to disparage the labors of the missionaries, but to cover their characters with contempt. We cannot afford room for quoting the obnoxious passages ; but pledge ourselves to give a faithful representation of the effect, which would be produced upon the mind of a reader of these publications, if he had no other means of knowledge. Such a reader would suppose, that Kapiolani, from the resources of her own mind, had resolved upon an expedient for utterly subverting the worship of Pele, the goddess of the great volcano ; that a superstitious fear of this goddess pervaded all the islands, and was impregnable to the attacks of the missionaries, who were continually preaching against it ; that this preaching was conducted with little judgment ; that a lecture on the power of steam would have been better than five hundred sermons ; that this noble woman, in pursuance of her resolution, descended into the crater, accompanied by a missionary, and there defied Pele in her very abode, at the same time acknowledging the power of Jehovah ; that the people were convinced by the experiment, and immediately relinquished the worship of Pele ; that this enterprise, ‘worthy of an apostle of old,’ was of the most decisive character, and ‘what the united efforts of kings and chiefs and missionaries failed to accomplish, was brought about by the heroic act of one woman.’

Now the simple history of this transaction is as follows. The chief woman above-mentioned, was extremely degraded in her character and habits, when the first missionaries arrived, and for some time afterwards ; but she was one of the earliest of the natives, who gave serious attention to religious teaching, and appeared to be truly affected by it. She became reformed, and was earnestly desirous of obeying the word of God herself, and of bringing her people under its influence. For a considerable time, she and her husband had been warm patrons of the mission ; and they justly ascribed to it all the elevation they had gained above the level of their former condition. In the spring of 1825, this woman, in her journey across the island, passed by the great volcano. She was accompanied by a missionary. Seeing in her attendants, and

especially in the people of that neighborhood, some remains of their former superstition, she showed her utter disbelief of the alleged power of Pele by descending into the crater, declaring that Jehovah was the only true God. The missionaries had done this, as the natives well knew, about two years before ; and again, during the time which had intervened, when some of their number walked across a part of the lava, which had probably, not many months before, been in a liquid state. In both these instances, all the premonitions of the timid islanders had been disregarded, and they had seen that no ill consequence resulted to the adventurous foreigners. The courage of Kapiolani, which, considering her early impressions, is certainly to be commended, doubtless added much force to the examples previously set, and attracted no small attention from the people, who witnessed it, and others to whom it was made known.

It is not true, however, that the worship of Pele was ever a prominent object to the minds of the missionaries. They never found it necessary to preach much against this form of idolatry, or any other. The people were sometimes inclined to relapse, to a small extent, and in small numbers, into their ancient superstitions ; but it never required much effort to convince them, that the gods of their fathers were mere fictions of a depraved imagination.

The journey of Kapiolani was not undertaken, as the voyager asserts, for the purpose of ' undeceiving the natives as to their false gods.' Her *visit* to the volcano was incidental, and the *effect* of it was incidental. The superstition, far from being destroyed by that visit, has shown itself since, in repeated instances. Pele was personated, so lately as the autumn of 1826, and the imposture was exposed by the missionaries. As to the united, but unsuccessful, efforts of ' the king, chiefs, and missionaries, to put down the worship of Pele,' they are altogether the work of the Reviewer, with very slender aid from the voyager. The king probably did not think of Pele once a year ; and the missionaries, we believe, never heard of the goddess, till they went near her imaginary abode, which was not till three years after they took up their residence in the islands. This was a merely local superstition, which yielded as readily as any other to the force of truth.

But thus it is too frequently with reviewers, as well as other writers. They undertake to discuss a subject of which they

are profoundly ignorant; and having discovered an insulated fact, they construct a theory upon it, and then fabricate other facts to support their theory. In doing this, they sometimes succeed tolerably well, so long as their readers are as ignorant as themselves, and care little about their speculations; but whenever an investigation takes place, their dogmatical assertions are scattered to the four winds.

In the case before us, the Voyager represents the worship of Pele as having been destroyed by the act of one heroic woman, and she an uninstructed native. A theory appears to have started into the mind of the Reviewer, on learning this fact, rather undefined perhaps, but much of this sort; *that it is very easy to convert idolaters, if you only hit upon the right method.* As Mr Ellis had mentioned a conversation with some of the worshippers of Pele, it was inferred, that he and his associates preached continually, though ineffectually, on that subject. The next inference is, in the words of the Reviewer, that 'the missionaries in this quarter have not, indeed, displayed much common sense, in their methods of proceeding.' Now the Voyager does not profess to tell what 'the methods of proceeding' were; and the narrative of Mr Ellis relates only to a particular exploring tour, and does not give a general outline of missionary service. How then does the Reviewer feel authorized to make these sweeping declarations. What is there, indeed, in the narrative of Mr Ellis, which indicates the want of common sense? The book was before the Reviewer. Why was not the stultifying passage pointed out?

It is worthy of notice, that when missionary attempts are just beginning, the general opinion of philosophical writers seems to be, that *nothing can be done*; that the superstitions of the heathen are so inveterate, and their minds so besotted and obtuse, and the customs of fifty generations so irresistible, that it would be vain to attempt a reformation. The condition of these ancient nations cannot be altered. The children must be like the fathers, through all the future ages of the world. But when, after years of patient toil, and many discouragements, a moral revolution has been effected; after the debased idolater, and the cruel savage, have been raised to the dignity and comfort of civilized life, and brought under the pure and holy influence of religious truth, it is then found out, that this mighty transformation is one of the easiest things that

was ever conceived of. The change itself is ascribed to some trifling cause ; and the missionaries, far enough from receiving any credit for what they have done, are unmercifully chastised for not having done more, in less time, and in a more easy, rational, and agreeable manner. It were to be wished, that cold, unfeeling critics, who sneer at the labors of missionaries without knowing anything about them, would set the world an example of what they, in the plenitude of their wisdom, could accomplish. This they have not yet condescended to do ; but there are multitudes of men, on whom they could make the experiment ; and every philanthropist will rejoice to see light beaming forth from any quarter, however unexpected.

In one of the quotations, which we have made from the ‘ Voyage,’ much is said of the strict observance of the Sabbath, and of the unauthorized and unreasonable requirements of the missionaries. We have a strong suspicion, that these charges were compiled in London, not from anything written by Mr Bloxam, or the midshipmen ; but that they were derived from a source entirely independent of the Blonde. Our principal reasons are, that none of the officers of that frigate were known to entertain or express opinions so entirely at variance with fact, as those in the paragraph alluded to ; but an individual now residing at the islands has frequently, since the Blonde left them, made numerous statements of the same general nature with these, and distinguished equally by a settled hostility to the mission, and a total disregard of truth. But let us recur to the charges. It is said, in substance,

1. That the missionaries induce the natives to observe the Sabbath with unnecessary rigor. The only proof adduced is, that the natives are forbidden to make a fire for cooking on that sacred day. Mr Stewart has sufficiently explained that matter by saying, that the work of preparing food and cooking it, is the work of a large part of a day. This work is not ordinarily performed by the people more frequently than once in three, four, or five days ; and therefore it is obviously proper that it should not be performed on the Sabbath. The missionaries do indeed desire, that the Sabbath should be consecrated to those religious purposes, for which it was designed.

2. The missionaries are said to ‘ *insist on their proselytes appearing at church five times every day.*’ Were it not that this charge is carefully distinguished from the one, which relates to the Sabbath, we should be inclined to the charitable

conclusion, that the writer intended, by the phrase *every day*, no more than *every day of religious worship*, that is, *every Sabbath*. But, as the words now stand, such a construction cannot be admitted. It would not be true, indeed, if it were confined to the Sabbath; but the falsehood would not have been so glaring. Did the writer expect to be believed, when he said, that the missionaries *insisted* on their proselytes appearing at church *thirtyfive times a week*? Mr Stewart says, there were but three public meetings in a week, designed for the people generally; namely, two on the Sabbath, and one on Wednesday evening. Beside these assemblages, there were Sabbath schools, catechetical exercises, and various other more retired meetings, as in Great Britain and America. As to the reasons, which the voyager puts into the mouths of the missionaries, it is superfluous to remark, that they have received a coloring, which destroys their identity. Something may have been said, which was taken as the occasion of these apologies; but in so different a connexion, and with so different an application, as to make the use of them here an utter perversion.

We have now done with the 'Voyage,' and shall direct the attention of our readers for a few moments to the Reviewer. Mr Murray, the publisher of the Voyage, is also the publisher of the Quarterly Review. This may partly account for the impartiality with which the article before us was written. As the Editor and the Reviewer work for the same master and are paid from the same purse, they must be in the most happy state of mind to look upon each other's labors with candor and kindness, and upon the supposed interests of their common employer with a steady eye. In such a case, there is this great advantage; the work can be prepared for the review, and the review can be fitted to the work, and, thus dove-tailed, by a contrivance not less ingenious than it is fair and honorable, both are sent into the world together, keep each other in countenance, and help to confirm a public opinion favorable to the views of certain great parties in religion and politics. If the scope of a popular journal is to exalt every thing British, and decry every thing American; to inculcate high church principles, and to treat with contempt all ministers of religion not episcopally ordained; and to discover the most irritable jealousy respecting any influence obtained by Americans over distant tribes of men; it must be very convenient

that original works, issued by the publisher of such a journal, should afford aliment to long cherished prejudices, and confirm opinions previously taught. Thus the work and the review can be written *pari passu*, of which there are some striking internal evidences in the case before us.

But the Reviewer does not confine himself to the Voyage of the Blonde. He has had access to letters of Captain Beechey, commander of the sloop of war Blossom, who touched at the islands in the spring of 1826, on his way to meet captain Franklin, beyond Bering's Strait. This captain is said to be a man of intelligence; but, owing to his national prejudices, or some other cause, he was most egregiously imposed upon by the individual, to whom many slanders against the missionaries can be directly traced. We speak advisedly here; for we can prove in a court of justice, that some of the stories, told by Captain Beechey, were told before his arrival at the islands, *and in the same words*, by the individual referred to; and what is more, we can prove the stories to be utterly false.

The substance of Captain Beechey's charges is, that the missionaries, by the multiplicity of their religious observances, are withdrawing the people from agricultural labors, and thus leading them into poverty, misery, and civil war. Now it might have been well if the captain had inquired, whether, in the history of the human race, it has ever occurred that learning to read and understand the Bible has produced such effects as these. But let us examine his facts. 'Thousands of acres of land,' says he, 'that before produced the finest crops, are now sandy plains.'

The mission began to exert a considerable influence in the year 1824, about two years before Captain Beechey's arrival. This is rather a short time for producing an effect so deleterious, as to change a fruitful country into sandy plains. But it happens, that all the sandy plains seen by Captain Beechey, or his informer, have been in the same situation as at present for many years. Some of them are mentioned by voyagers in the year 1804, which was sixteen years before the arrival of the first missionaries. There is no doubt that more land was formerly cultivated than at present, and that the islands were far more populous than now. There is as little doubt, that the depopulation was occasioned by the original vices of the people, greatly aggravated by the vices derived from Englishmen in the first instance, and Americans afterwards. If this

depopulation should continue, it will not be owing to the Bible, or the missionaries, but to the opposition of abandoned white men to the only principles, which are of sufficient efficacy to redeem and save a sinking people.

Probably Captain Beechey does not know, that the natives, before the missionaries arrived, were accustomed to spend whole weeks together, congregated by thousands, for public games and dances, during which seasons of revelry, the most disgusting licentiousness prevailed. Is it credible, that such a people should be rendered more idle and improvident, by exchanging their games of chance for reading and writing, and their public dances for the intelligent worship of the true God?

Again, we are told by the captain, that 'provisions are so extremely scarce, that not long since the king sent to beg a little bread of the American consul.' It is curious to observe what sort of evidence is here relied on. The king, a boy thirteen years old, asked of an American a little bread, a foreign article; and this is to prove an extreme scarcity of provisions! Suppose one of the English nobility, who once lived at Rome, or Naples, but who now resides in London, should send to one of his acquaintance, and beg a little vermicelli, would it prove the existence of famine in the British metropolis? Mr Stewart expresses the opinion, that the present king, boy as he is, has never seen a day, since he received the title of king, in which he could not immediately provide for a thousand men.

During the year 1826, the port of Honoruru was visited by more than a hundred foreign vessels, many of them having large crews, and staying one, two, and three months. After long voyages, the men consume large quantities of fresh provisions, vegetables, and fruits; and, on going to sea, they take from forty to sixty barrels of potatoes, taro, &c. for each vessel. It would not be strange, if, in such circumstances, there should be a scarcity of those provisions, which are most in demand; especially when it is considered, that the people have never been encouraged to industry, by having the fruits of their labor at their own disposal. But what is the fact? In the year 1822, the mission had produced little effect upon the mass of the people. The same port was visited that year by less than fifty vessels. The price of provisions was dearer than at any time since; and almost twice as dear, as at the time when Captain Beechey was predicting a famine. Chris-

tianity is now pleading for the rights of the common people, and inducing the chiefs to be mild, and merciful, and just to them ; and, in this way, unless the benevolent designs of the missionaries are frustrated by ill disposed foreigners, the encouragement to industry will be so great, as to secure an abundance of the productions of the soil. This, while it essentially aids the natives in the process of civilization, will afford a most grateful supply to the numerous ships which traverse the Pacific.

The Reviewer supposes, that the idleness, poverty, misery, and the forebodings of future evil, so strongly described by Captain Beechey, were brought upon the poor simple natives, by the missionaries having preached against neglecting *the one thing needful* ; thus inducing the people to spend all their time in religious pursuits, and leaving no time for the concerns of this world.

Again, says the Reviewer, ‘ the apprehension of civil war, expressed by Captain Beechey, appears to be owing to another text of Scripture, which says, that in the kingdom of heaven none is before or after another, none is greater or less than another ; which, as the American teachers apply and expound it, is exactly to tell these poor creatures, that “ all men are equal,” a doctrine which Mr Bingham’s countrymen are more ready to preach than to practise.’ The Reviewer has not given us chapter and verse for the text, that prompted to so mischievous and seditious an exposition ; which is the more to be regretted, as, in the course of our reading the Bible, we have never fallen upon any such passage of Scripture. But is the Reviewer seriously afraid, that men should be taught that they have rights ? The Gospel has delivered many nations from cruel bondage ; but it has never yet enslaved any, nor authorized or prompted sedition and violence. Its pacific tendency has already been felt at the islands, in more instances than one.

As to Captain Beechey’s stories about Tahiti and Tubuai, they are all second hand, and were coined in the same mint with the others. He was so far imposed upon, as to believe that many of these islanders had died, because they were too lazy to cook oftener than once a week, and were therefore in the habit of eating sour food. This produced ‘ complaints in the stomach, and carried them off.’ Such is the story. The fact is, however, that the Sandwich Islanders, and proba-

bly other islanders of the Pacific, keep their food, till it has fermented, because they prefer it in this state. And as to health, there probably is not a more nutritious diet in the world, than that of the people at the Sandwich Islands, of which sour *poi* (an esculent vegetable, cooked, pounded, made into paste, and fermented) is the principal article. The chiefs, who always have an abundance of this food, are men of enormous size. We are informed in the 'Voyage,' that Kuakini (John Adams) then only twenty-seven years old, weighed three hundred and sixty-four pounds, avoirdupois. He is six feet three inches high, and so well proportioned as not to have the appearance of great corpulency. Several of the chief women are said to weigh more than three hundred pounds each; and yet they have been eating sour *poi* all their lives.

After all, Captain Beechey 'admits,' says the Reviewer, 'that the missionaries are entitled to every credit, for having succeeded in abolishing human sacrifices and the prevailing crime of infanticide.' Indeed! Entitled to every credit! And shall not those, who have shown themselves capable of accomplishing the greater, do something toward accomplishing the less? Will men, who have weakened, and finally broken, the bands of a depraving superstition, and raised up the most abject of their race to dignity and virtue, be found inadequate to the task of inculcating the duties of social and civil life? It would not have been amiss, if Captain Beechey and the Reviewer had patiently inquired what the missionaries had done, and in what manner they had done it, before they were stigmatized as wanting in common sense.

There are, in the course of the Review, several glowing descriptions of the good done by missionaries, in numerous islands of the Pacific; but they were *native missionaries*, sent from islands, previously converted to christianity, to other islands remaining in their idolatrous state. They were instructed, however, and fitted for their work by missionaries of European origin; and this should have led to some favorable conclusions respecting the labors of those, who first introduced christianity into Polynesia.

The Reviewer, taking the hint from a passage in the 'Voyage,' which we have already quoted, commends the example of the Moravians, and eulogizes their labors, at the expense of all other missionary efforts. We are very sure that these writers have not a higher opinion of the Moravians, and their

persevering and faithful exertions, than we have long entertained. It has, however, been the fashion of late, with those who dislike missions generally, to praise the Moravians highly, on two accounts, which are set forth as peculiar to them; namely, their declining to preach the higher points of doctrine, and their teaching their converts to be industrious. The title of these good missionaries to praise for the first reason, is more than questionable; for no men were ever more assiduous in proclaiming what they deemed the peculiar doctrines of christianity. On these they build their hope of success; and they fortify themselves by the results of experience, now extended nearly through a century. Their industry is indeed worthy of high commendation; and though it may not have been surpassed, it has been successfully imitated, by missionaries of several other denominations.

Let us suppose, that the Moravians had commenced a mission to the Sandwich Islands. If the result of their labors had been merely to make the natives work on their lands, so as to furnish, for a mere trifle, an abundance of the vegetables and fruits, to which the climate is suited, no doubt the Reviewer, and many who think with him, would have been satisfied, and the mission would have experienced little opposition. Such a result, however, does not come alone; nor is it the first of a series. A heathen people must be made to think, to reason, and to feel their accountability to God, before they become industrious, or discharge any of their social or relative duties.

If the Moravians had attempted to benefit the Sandwich Islanders, they would have labored to make piety, temperance, justice, purity of mind, and chastity, as well as industry, universal. Had they succeeded according to their desire, no lewd, abandoned, fraudulent visiter, could have touched at the islands, with the least hope of gratifying his brutal or selfish desires. And how would this state of things have been relished? Would it not have called forth slander, abuse, misrepresentation, and malignant opposition? The Moravians have not been without experience of these evils. In the course of the last century, among other enterprises of benevolence, they commenced a mission to the Indians, in the borders of what is now one of the United States. Here they were traduced and vilified by their white neighbors, almost as much as Mr Bingham and his associates have been slandered at the Sandwich Islands.

It was said, in the first instance, that the Indians 'were incapable of embracing the christian religion;' but after it was evident that a number of them *had* embraced it, 'every device was resorted to, to have these missionaries banished out of the country.' The causes of this opposition are stated by the venerable Heckewelder to have been the loss experienced by the whites, in not being able to impose upon the Indians, and the shame of the whites *in having their crimes rebuked and exposed by the Indian converts*; the identical causes which produce most of the opposition at the Sandwich Islands. These Moravians were so troublesome, on account of their great influence with the Indians, that the whites used 'every stratagem to get rid of them; and some even offered liquor to any Indian that would kill them;' just as sailors were instigated last year to attempt the life of Mr Bingham.

The Moravians were also accused of interfering in politics; and this brought great odium and severe persecution upon them; though the charge was utterly groundless and false. One man was wicked enough to declare, at a county court, before five hundred persons, that 'when he was in Canada, every two weeks, regular intelligence had been sent from Bethlehem.' In another place, public declaration was made by beat of drum, 'that Bethlehem should be destroyed, and that a carnage should be made, such as had never been heard of in North America before.'

Nor would the Moravians have escaped the charge of having too many religious meetings; for it is said by Mr Heckewelder of certain missionary stations, that 'having at each of these settlements built themselves a place of worship, *in which they daily met for divine service*, they were happy;' and of another station, that 'the inhabitants of this place had their daily meetings, *the same as is customary in all the Brethren's congregations*.' According to the proportion between allegation and fact, as the matter turns out at the Sandwich Islands, in relation to this subject, Moravians, having confessedly instituted public religious meetings for *every day*, would have been charged with holding *between ninety and a hundred such meetings a week*. This surely the Reviewer could never have borne.

We will here take occasion to say a word on the manner in which the islands of the Pacific became inhabited. It is found that the natives of Polynesia, from New Zealand to

the Sandwich Islands, are one people, having the same manners and customs, and speaking the same language ; and this fact is sufficient to silence forever the infidel objection, that mankind could not have descended from one pair, because the different parts of the earth could not have been thus peopled. If the islands of the Pacific, whose inhabitants are all ignorant savages, are descended from a common stock, as they certainly are, we need not be greatly troubled about the alleged impossibility of peopling any part of the world with the descendants of Noah. The question *how* these islands were first settled, is not very easy of solution. Tradition is nearly silent respecting it. History discloses nothing. The Reviewer is not at all puzzled, however, with any difficulties of the case. After deciding that the people are oriental, he says, 'their dispersion over the Pacific is easily accounted for, by the constant easterly winds, which at various times, and in various directions, may have blown fishing canoes from the Asiatic islands to those scattered over the Pacific, and from one of these islands to another ; which last accident, indeed, is constantly happening at the present day.' Let no man despair of a theory to suit any exigency after this. The *constant easterly winds*, which are commonly called trade winds, have, it would seem, the astonishing property of blowing canoes from the west to the east ; so that, by this new species of attraction, these canoes, against the will of their owners, against the waves and currents, and *against the winds themselves*, have traversed the wide Pacific, and carried the ancestors of the present inhabitants to every island.

The mutineers of the *Bounty* put Lieut. Bligh and eighteen men into an open boat, in the middle of the Pacific. With all the advantages arising from nautical skill, a small stock of provisions, a perfect knowledge of all the accessible ports and islands, and perfect subordination to an intelligent commander, it was thought remarkable that this boat, *sailing directly before the wind*, should have made a safe harbor in fortyone days. It is incidentally mentioned in the *Voyage of the Blonde*, that the captain wished to touch at Tahiti, after leaving the Sandwich Islands, but, having fallen a little to the leeward, he struggled in vain against the trade winds for ten days, and then gave up the design. If a staunch British frigate, possessing every possible advantage, could not beat to windward a few hundred miles, without a great delay, and a long and patient

struggle, what do our readers think of little fishing canoes, containing a few ignorant and naked savages, without provisions or water, being driven *against the constant easterly winds* from island to island, some of which are mere specks in the ocean, removed fifteen hundred miles from any other inhabited land? Canoes have, indeed, passed and repassed to and from the islands at a small distance from each other; and this distance has increased, as the natives learned from civilized visitors, the courses and distances of neighboring islands. But nothing has yet been known, which relieves the conjecture of the Reviewer from the character of arrant absurdity, which it bears upon its face. If this conjecture can be sustained, the achievement of Columbus must sink into insignificance. After much preparation, and in pursuance of a long cherished design, he succeeded with three ships in crossing an ocean three thousand miles wide. These savage fishermen are represented as having penetrated seven or eight thousand miles into another ocean, by strides of many hundred miles at a time, without design, without any thought of finding other lands, without preparation or contrivance, chart or compass, food or water, against their own inclinations, and *against the winds*, which have blown almost daily in the same direction ever since the creation of the world.

The Reviewer sneers at the missionaries 'for *Italianizing*, as they call it, the language and proper names;' and denominates their conduct, in this respect, 'a silly affectation.' In the same sentence, he throws in this parenthesis '(the letter *w* in Italian!)' thus determining, by the aid of a parenthesis and a note of admiration, that the missionaries are silly indeed, and that himself is able to settle a question in philology by a single dash of the pen; and this, in reference to a language, of which he knows nothing. It happens, however, that the missionaries never 'called it,' as he asserts, '*Italianizing* the language.' In the preface to the Voyage, the editor says; 'the Roman letters are used; and the sounds of the vowels, which have been adopted, are rather those given them by the Italians than the English.' This is the language of the editor, be it remembered; but if it were the language of the missionaries, it would have furnished no support for the charge of *Italianizing* the language; an attempt very absurd and silly, no doubt, if it had actually been made; and if any thing more had been intended by it, than the appropriation of the Italian sounds to the vowels of our alphabet. It would be far less

absurd, however, to speak of *Italianizing* the language, than of *Anglicizing* it, as every philologist would instantly perceive, on seeing a specimen.

The question is sometimes asked ; Why did not the missionaries give the English sounds to the vowels in the new alphabet, which they formed ? To this question there are three answers. 1. All the sounds of the English vowels are not found in the language of the Sandwich Islands. 2. It would be the height of absurdity to give five or six sounds to one letter, thus introducing a most perplexing and pernicious ambiguity into a newly written language, merely because such an ambiguity existed in an old language, into which it had crept through the abuses of ages. 3. In one sense, the sounds of the vowels in the new alphabet *are* English sounds ; that is, they all occur in *some* English words. The missionaries are asked, Why did you not give the English sound to the letter *a* ? They retort, Which sound ? We have given it the sound which it has in *father* ; the sound which it has in nearly all the languages of continental Europe, as in the French, Spanish, Italian, &c. Did you wish us to give it all the sounds, which it has in *fare, far, fate, fat, father, fall, fallow, what* ? and then to give the letter *e* one of the same sounds ? and then to distribute the same sounds among a great variety of combinations of vowels, as *wear, weight, bait, thought, naught, bawl*, &c. &c. ? Is this the way in which you would befriend a nation of uncivilized men ? Would you give them, if not a Babylonish dialect, a worse than Babylonish manner of writing their own dialect ?

The fact is, that every man, whose thoughts have been turned to the subject, knows it to be a great evil, that widely different sounds should be given to the same letter ; and, in the formation of new alphabets, that is, alphabets for languages never before written, this evil is carefully avoided. The Quarterly Reviewer would not, perhaps, have spoken so sneeringly on this subject, if he had known that the celebrated professor Lee, in one of the English universities, had prepared an alphabet for the language of New Zealand, in which he had given precisely the same sounds to the vowels and diphthongs, as were given by the American missionaries. Mr Pickering's alphabet for Indian languages, was formed on the same principles ; and yet these three efforts were independent of each other,—a striking proof, if any proof were needed, that the plan was founded in obvious reason and propriety.

Just before the number of the *Quarterly Review*, containing the article on the Sandwich Islands, issued from the press, a letter was received in London, which, as it reiterates the charges against the American missionaries, the Reviewer was very eager to introduce, though at the distance of more than a hundred pages from the principal article. The letter purports to have been written by Boki, governor of Oahu, and brother of Karaimoku. It is unquestionably a forgery, and a very glaring one; though the Reviewer pledges himself that it is genuine. The letter and the introductory paragraph are as follows;

‘Since the preceding pages have been struck off, we have been favored with the following literal copy of a letter of Boki (which we pledge ourselves to be genuine), confirming what we have stated with regard to the conduct of the American missionaries at the Sandwich Islands.

Islands of Woahoo, Jan. 24, 1826.

‘Sir,—I take this opportunity to send you thes fu lines, hopping the will find you in good health, as ples god the leve me at present. I am sorrey to inform You that Mr Pitt (Karaimakoo) has gon thro four opperashons since you sailed from here, but thank god he is now much better, and we ar in hops of his recovery, and I am verrey sorey to tell you that Mr Bingham the head of the Misheneres is trieng evere thing in his pour to have the Law of this country in his own hands. all of us ar verrey happy to have sum pepel to instruct us in what is rite and good but he wants us to be entirly under his laws, which will not do with the natives. I have don all in my pour to prevent it and I have don it as yet, Ther is Cahomano wishes the Misheneres to have the whol atority but I sholl prevent it as long as I cane, for if the have their will be nothing done in thes Ilands not even cultivation, for ther own use. I wish the peppel to reid and to rite and likewise to worke, but the Misheneres have got them night and day old and young so that ther is verrey little don her at present. The pepel in general ar verrey much discetisfied at the Misheneres thinking they will have the laws in their own hands. Captain Charlton has not arived from Otiety which makes me think sumthing has hapned to him. Mr Bingham has gone so far as to tell thes natives that nether king George nor Lord Biron has any regard for God, or aney of the English cheefs, that they are all bad pepel but themselves, and that there is no Redemson for aney of the heads of the English or American nations. God send you good health and a long life.

‘ Mrs Boki sends her kind love to Lord Biron and Mr Camrone and the Hon. Mr Hill.

(Signed) NA-BOKI.’

We do not suppose, that the Reviewer suspected this letter of being a forgery ; but, with a moderate share of perspicacity, he *would* have suspected it ; and the least suspicion should have prevented its publication. With what contempt would the Quarterly Reviewers look upon a Greek or Latin epistle which should be vouched for, as having been written in the days of Xenophon or Cicero, but which, on the slightest examination, should prove a literal translation of a modern English letter, such as an ordinary youth of fifteen would now write on a common subject ? What would they think of a letter written by a Frenchman, represented as so ignorant of the English language as not to be able to spell it, and yet expressing himself entirely in the English idiom, without a single word or phrase, that indicated a foreign origin ? But neither the Greek, the Latin, nor the French is so different from the English, in idiom and train of thought, as is the Sandwich Island tongue.

The only disguise of the letter under consideration is bad spelling, which is really no disguise at all ; for a half instructed foreigner would learn to spell the English language right much sooner, than he would learn to use words in their proper meaning, or to form them into proper phrases and sentences. A foreigner learns to spell by the eye, and therefore he spells correctly the new language which he is writing. He consults his memory, or his dictionary, well knowing that the ear is to him no guide at all. What Englishman, for instance, ever undertook to spell the French language merely from hearing it spoken ? This is not mere theory. We have seen numerous letters written by imperfectly educated foreigners ; and the spelling is uniformly, in such cases, much more correct than the composition,—the use of words, the arrangement, the idiomatical phrases. Since the article in the Quarterly Review appeared, a respectable clergyman has shown us an original letter, written by a youth from the Sandwich Islands, who was then under the tuition of several students in the Theological Seminary in Andover. The occasion was this. Mr Mills, whose name is dear to every friend of missions and of Africa, was absent from Andover, and had just been afflicted by the death of a beloved mother. The youth in question had re-

ceived much kindness from the mother and the son, and was advised to write a letter of condolence ; which he did, in the following words ; in copying which we shall follow his spelling, punctuation, and use of capitals.

‘ Andover January 1810. Dear Sir. Mr. Samuel J. Mills. Now I no Father and no mother. and your mother very good to me. now I hope she go to God. so I mind what she say so I must be a good man if I come to good man I hope I see her again. she very kind to me now I lost my mother and my friend your mother. Behold I am not feel very well. I am,

HENRY OBOOKIAH.’

In the pretended letter of Boki, the whole is English, as to thought, style, and idiom ; and even the errors in spelling are those into which an illiterate Englishman would fall, but which are very different from the errors of an ignorant foreigner. It is obvious, also, that no person would speak of his own people as ‘ the natives,’ and ‘ these natives ;’ nor would he speak of them as a party, or a community, distinct from himself.

These things are plain to any reflecting man, though he may know nothing of Boki, except that he is a Sandwich Island chief. But the Reviewer had been treating of a book, in which there is no proof that Boki ever spoke English, while there is frequent mention of the *interpreter* for the party, while they were in London. To those, who are intimately acquainted with the state of things at the islands, it is known, that if Boki had written the letter, he would have spelled the proper names in his own language rightly. Four of these occur, and not one of them is rightly spelled ; though all the natives, who have learned to write, are in the constant habit of spelling them correctly. In the spelling of these four names, there are *thirteen* mistakes, nearly all of them such as Englishmen and Americans actually make ; the natives never ; because they use an alphabet, which preserves them from the ordinary causes of error in spelling other languages. The English names, Pitt, Bingham, Charlton, George, and Hill, are all spelled correctly ; which is singular enough for a writer, who could not spell his brother’s name, in his own language, without making two mistakes.

But to bring the matter to a close at once ; Boki cannot understand, or speak English, except a little, in short broken sentences, on the most common subjects. He transacts all business with Englishmen and Americans, by the aid of inter-

preters ; and his ignorance of the English language is so well known to all, that, in the autumn of 1826, plain sentences, uttered by Captain Jones of the United States navy, were designedly misinterpreted to him in public, and without any fear that he would detect the error. Nor was he able to do it. Had it not been for the kind interposition of Providence, much injury would have resulted from these attempts to deceive him.

As to *writing* English, the thought never entered Boki's mind. He never learned to *read* it ; and such parts of sentences as, 'trying everything in his power to have the law of this country in his own hands,'—'nothing done in these islands, not even cultivation for their own use ;'—'no redemption for any of the heads of the English or American nations,'—would be utterly beyond his comprehension, if written by another.

It is highly probable, that the letter was signed by Boki, a specious account having been given him of its contents. There are strong reasons for thinking, that it was antedated six or eight months, in order to render the imposition more effectual.

If such a forgery were committed merely as a matter of sport, without any malicious intention, it would be extremely reprehensible ; but what act can be more dishonorable or wicked, than to make a deliberate fabrication the vehicle of false charges, the object and tendency of which are to prejudice the world against the exertions of men, who have made no ordinary sacrifices in devoting their lives to a most arduous task, and thus materially to impede a work, upon which the moral and intellectual progress, the present and future happiness, of many tribes and nations are depending ?

As to the feelings of Boki, in regard to the misson, they were probably much affected by his daily intercourse with foreigners, who were constantly filling his mind with falsehoods. It deserves to be mentioned, however, that in December 1825, (only a month before the date of the forgery), he wrote a letter to be published, with the letters of other chiefs, in a tract for distribution among the people, under the title of *Thoughts of the Chiefs*. The object of this collection, and of Boki's letter with the rest, was to strengthen the hands of the missionaries, increase their influence, and urge on the business of evangelizing the people. The tract forms a very suitable school-book, and as such it will probably be used for years to come.

In December, 1826, (eleven months after the date of the forged instrument, but probably not more than two or three months after the act of the forgery), Boki expressed his decided assent to a letter written by his brother Karaimoku, the design of which was to commend the missionaries, and exculpate them from all blame; and he afterwards wrote a short letter himself, having the same object in view. Should it hereafter appear, that this irresolute and pliable chief has been misled, and induced to express a jealousy and dislike of the mission, the nature and grounds of his tergiversation may easily be understood, and the real weight of his opinions duly estimated.

POSTSCRIPT.

Soon after the article on the Sandwich Islands appeared in the Quarterly Review, Mr. Ellis wrote a letter to the editor of that publication, denying, in a very mild and temperate manner, the charges against the missionaries, and proving the letter of Boki to be a forgery. An intimation had been given, that, if the letter were short, it would be admitted. Accordingly, Mr. Ellis made it so short, that it would not have occupied more than three pages. Instead of inserting the letter, however, the editor acknowledges it in a note as follows: "We have received a letter from Mr. Ellis, (the missionary,) in which he tells us that the 'Letter from *Boki*,' quoted in the last page of our last number, is a forgery." He proceeds to assure Mr. Ellis, that the letter certainly came from the islands, (a thing that was never doubted,) and makes some other equally unsatisfactory remarks. But why was he not willing, that the readers of the Quarterly should judge for themselves as to the question of forgery? Mr. Ellis, by the way, did not "*tell*" the editor that the letter was a forgery; but he *proved it to be so*. This conduct, in the editor of one of the most important periodicals in the world, was more disingenuous and uncandid, than we were prepared to expect; but since these sheets were printed, the writer has received an English publication, from which it

appears, that there was a baseness, in the original insertion of the pretended letter of Boki in the Quarterly, of a far deeper character, than would have been deemed credible without the most unquestionable evidence. By the aid of a distinguished nobleman, understood to be Lord Bexley, Mr. Ellis obtained a sight of the manuscript letter, which was in the possession of one of the departments of government. On the inspection of this writing, which was claimed to be the autograph of the Sandwich Island chief, and of which a literal copy had been professedly published, for the genuineness of which the Quarterly Reviewers had pledged themselves, it appeared that the pretended writer had spelt his wife's name "*Mrs. Bockey*," and two lines after had signed his own name "*Boke*."

The writer of the article in the Quarterly, seeing that the forgery would be instantly detected, if Boki were to be represented as spelling his own name so differently in the same breath, found it necessary to *alter the spelling in both these cases*, so that it should conform to the common mode of spelling the name. Can it be doubted, after this, whether the Reviewer must not have known the letter to be a vile forgery?

It is a curious fact that *Bockey* contains two letters, *c* and *y*, not in the Sandwich Island alphabet.

